THE WEBER THESIS AS TESTED BY THE WRITINGS OF JOHN CALVIN AND THE ENGLISH PURITANS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

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The main purpose of this thesis is to present a detailed study of certain aspects of the religious, social, and economic teachings of John Calvin and the English Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a test of the theories of Max Weber. In making this study both primary and secondary materials have been used; however, the major portion of this work is based on the writings of John Calvin and the English Puritan.

Since the sixteenth century and the rise of what has been called a capitalistic type of economy, the issues concerning economic activity, as they relate to individuals and nations, have sometimes been vehemently criticized as being wrong and unethical by some people and defended with the same vigor and enthusiasm as being legitimate and morally right by other people.

Max Weber has added considerable fuel to the heated controversy over the rise of capitalism in the West as a

result of his well-known essay entitled The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. The question that Weber sought to answer in the above work is simply, "What psychological conditions made possible the development of our capitalistic civilization?" Weber maintained that the Protestant Reformation in general and the intrinsic character of Calvinism in particular had a decisive influence upon the creation of pre-conditions that fostered the development of modern capitalism. To be more specific, Weber argued that there was a connection between the so-called "spirit of modern capitalism" and what he called the "rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism." According to Weber, it was the doctrine of predestination, which was the most characteristic dogma of John Calvin and the English Puritans, with its inhuman stress on election to salvation, that forced men to pursue ascetic ideals within a mundane occupation, or calling, in order to prove their election.

Thus, beginning with the concept of the calling, the doctrine of election, and worldly asceticism, Weber believed that it was but a short step to the theoretical fortifications of modern capitalism which to him is an irrational, immoral, economic system that binds modern society in an "iron cage."

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It would seem that if Weber were correct, one should be able to find what might be described as proto-capitalistic ideas in the writings of John Calvin and the English Puritans. It was the purpose of this study, then, to see if such proto-capitalistic views could be found. The results were negative. On the contrary, much ignorance on the part of Weber concerning the views of Calvin and the English Puritans, misrepresentation, and quoting out of context were found.

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INTRODUCTION

The essay by Max Weber entitled Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus was first published in the Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, Volumes XX and XXI, 1904-5. It was revised and reprinted in 1920 in the Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie. In 1930 it was published in Great Britain as The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in a translation by Talcott Parsons, professor of sociology at Harvard University. The above work, together with a supplementary article, "Die protestantische Sekten und der Geist des Kapitalismus," which appeared in 1906, has formed the basis of an historical controversy that is as much alive today as it was when Max Weber first published his study shortly after the turn of the century. The controversy revolves around the question of the influence of religious beliefs on the economic actions of men in the Western World. Did the Protestant Reformation in general and the intrinsic character of Calvinism in particular have a decisive influence upon the development of modern capitalism or a spirit of modern economic life? To be even more specific,

is there a connection between the so-called "spirit" of modern capitalism and what Weber calls the "rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism"? He argues very forcefully that a causal link most certainly existed. It was Protestantism, according to Weber, that created the preconditions for a "spirit of capitalism."

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the writings of John Calvin and a number of English Puritan fathers to see how they fit into the pattern formulated by Weber in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. It will be necessary to: first, set forth Weber's thesis as succinctly and lucidly as is possible; secondly, to review some of the controversy over the thesis; thirdly, to look at the economic and social views of John Calvin, the man whom Weber considers to be the father of that branch of Protestantism responsible for the development of capitalism. It will also be essential to glance quickly at certain aspects of Calvin's theology. The final task will be to search the writings of the English Puritans to see how well they substantiate the contentions of Weber.

CHAPTER I

MAX WEBER'S THESIS

According to R. H. Tawney, Max Weber's most illustrious disciple, the question that Weber attempts to answer is simply, what psychological conditions made possible the development of our capitalistic civilization? Mr. Tawney would contend that in its youth capitalism was a pretender, and it was only after centuries of struggle that its title was established. The establishment of capitalism was a revolution that involved a code of economic conduct and a system of human relations which were sharply at variance with venerable conventions, with the accepted scheme of social ethics, and with the law, both of the church and of most European states. The new system was so questionable that it demanded of the early pioneers originality, self-confidence, and tenacity of purpose. These, according to Tawney, are the very qualities needed by those today who would break from the net that it has woven. The questions that are raised are, what influence nerved them to defy tradition, and from

whence did they derive the principles to replace it?[1]

In his introduction Weber sets forth the idea that only in Western civilization has there appeared certain cultural phenomena which lie in a line of development having universal significance and value. Having made the generalization, he then proceeds to consider at some length specific examples to illustrate his point. He would argue that it is only in the West that science exists at a stage of development which we recognize today as valid. Christianity, under the influence of Hellenism, must be credited with development of a systematic theology, while a structure such as canon law is known only to the West.[2] Even the state, " . . . in the sense of a political association with a rational, written constitution, rationally ordained law, and an administration bound to rational rules or laws, administered by trained officials, is known, in this combination of characteristics, only in the Occident,

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[1]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. lb-lc. Hereafter cited as Weber, The Protestant Ethic. This quotation is taken from the "Foreword" to the Protestant Ethic which was written by Tawney.

[2]Ibid., pp. 13-16.

despite all other approaches to it."[3] Weber, then, asserts strenuously that " . . . the same is true of the most fateful force in our modern life, capitalism."[4]

To Weber, capitalism is more than the impulse to acquisition or the making of money, which are common to every generation and to all men. Capitalism is the pursuit of ever renewed profits by means of continuous, rational (book-keeping), capitalistic enterprise.[5] "Everything is done in terms of balance: at the beginning of the enterprise an initial balance, before every individual decision a calculation to ascertain its probable profitableness, and at the end a final balance to ascertain how much profit has been made."[6] Up to this point Weber would say that capitalism has existed in all civilized countries of the earth.[7]

However, in modern time the West has developed, in addition to the above kinds of practices, a form of capitalism which has appeared nowhere else in the world.

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[3] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[4] Ibid., p. 17.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 18.

[7] Ibid., p. 19.

The new form of capitalism was based on the rational capitalistic organization of (formally) free labor. This gave rise to the proletariat class which had never existed before. It is Weber's position that all of the peculiarities of Western capitalism have derived their significance from their association with the capitalistic organization of labor.[8] Thus, it is in the Occident that capitalism reaches its apogee through the utilization of free labor.

After a chapter that asserts that there are more Protestants in business in Germany than Roman Catholics,[9] and that this is more evident among the Reformed than among the Lutherans,[10] Weber turns to "The Spirit of Capitalism" in chapter two.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[9] Weber based his conclusions upon a study of mixed religious faiths in certain German states. See Martin Offenbacher, Konfession und social Schichtung. Eine Studie über die wirtschoftliche Lage der Katholiken und Protestanten in Baden (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901), Vol. IV, part. V, of the Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen der badischen Hochschulen. Offenbacher contended that the Protestant students, more commonly than Catholics, pursued studies that prepared them to fill the upper ranks of skilled labor and administrative positions. Weber finds the reason for this in the mental and spiritual peculiarities acquired in the religious atmosphere of the home.

[10] Here Weber argues that certain branches of Protestantism have shown a special tendency to develop what he calls "economic rationalism." The difference between these certain branches of Protestantism and

In order to describe what is meant by the spirit of capitalism, Weber begins by quoting Benjamin Franklin:

> "Remember, that time is money. . . . Remember, that credit is money. . . . Remember, that money is of the prolific, generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Remember this saying, the good paymaster is lord of another man's purse. . . . After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world than punctuality and justice in all his dealings; therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse forever."[11]

According to the author, there is no doubt that Franklin is speaking in the characteristic fashion of the spirit of capitalism.[12]

> The peculiarity of this philosophy of avarice appears to be the ideal of the honest man of recognized credit, and above all the idea of a duty of the individual toward the increase of his capital, which is assumed as an end in itself. Truly, what is here preached is not

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Lutheranism as well as Catholicism is found in the permanent intrinsic character of their religious beliefs. Perhaps the real difference between these groups is the fact that some, the Calvinists, have received special notice, and thus their differences have been exaggerated. See Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber, trans. E. G. French (New York, 1961), pp. 121-150. Hereafter cited as Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action.

[11] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[12] Ibid., p. 51.

> simply a means of making one's way in the world, but a peculiar ethic. . . . It is not mere business astuteness, that sort of thing is common enough, it is an ethos.[13]

It becomes a way of life. Man is not to acquire money for the purpose of enjoyment, but the making of money is the ultimate purpose of his life.[14] These ideas and attitudes of Franklin are the result and the expression of virtue and proficiency in his calling, drummed into young Ben again and again by his strict Calvinistic father. Weber admits, however, that Franklin is not a Christian but "a colorless deist."[15] It would be more appropriate to consider Franklin and his ideas as products of the Enlightenment which was a secularized movement. It is this peculiar idea of one's duty in a calling which is most characteristic of the social ethic of capitalistic culture, and is in a sense the fundamental basis of it.[16]

Weber stresses the idea that the spirit of capitalism had to fight its way to the forefront against a world that was full of hostile forces. He

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 53.

[15] Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[16] Ibid., p. 54.

also argues that the desire for money without the enjoyment of it is an unnatural child and that historically man was interested only in providing for his traditional needs.[17] Consequently, the most important opponent with which the spirit of capitalism has had to contend was that which Weber calls traditionalism.[18] Before such a strange and unnatural child as capitalism could become a way of life, the influence of traditionalism had to be overcome. In other words one must have men who have turned from the old, leisurely and comfortable attitude of life to a life of labor which becomes an absolute end in itself. It is essential to have workers who will not quit and go off to the tavern when they have earned enough to make life comfortable and to satisfy their traditional needs. There is an absolute need for men who have a feeling of obligation to their job and calling. They must be frugal, have an ascetic tendency, but an asceticism directed to this world, not the world to come, and must get no enjoyment out of their wealth, except the irrational sense of having done

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[17] Ibid., p. 60.

[18] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

their job well. Such attitudes can only be the product of a long and arduous process of education.[19]

From this point Weber feels that it is his task " . . . to find out whose intellectual child the particular concrete form of rational thought was, from which the idea of a calling and the devotion to labour in the calling has grown, which is . . . so irrational from the standpoint of purely eudaemonistic self-interest, but which has been and still is one of the most characteristic elements of our capitalistic culture."[20] With this statement he turns to Luther's conception of the calling.

According to the author of The Protestant Ethic, Luther can be charged with only one contribution to the spirit of modern capitalism. This contribution was the development of the concept of a calling as it is seen in the German word Beruf, " . . . the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume. This it was which inevitably gave everyday worldly activity a religious significance,

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[19] Ibid., pp. 61-77.

[20] Ibid., p. 78.

and which first created the conception of a calling in this sense."[21] This was a repudiation of the medieval ideal of living most acceptable to God in monastic asceticism and a turning to the fulfillment of this world's obligations--this is the only way to live acceptably to God. The fulfillment of worldly duties alone is the will of God, and, consequently, every legitimate calling has exactly the same worth in the sight of God.[22] "That this moral justification of worldly activity was one of the most important results of the Reformation, especially of Luther's part in it, is beyond doubt, and may even be considered a platitude."[23]

However, Luther's capitalistic viewpoints, Weber contends, were backward. This is especially true with respect to the doctrine of the sterility of money.[24] On the other hand his concept of the calling remained traditionalistic. "His calling is something which man has to accept as a divine ordinance, to which he must adapt himself. This aspect outweighed the other idea

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[21] Ibid., p. 80.

[22] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[23] Ibid., p. 81.

[24] Ibid., p. 83.

which was also present, that work in the calling was a, or rather the, task set by God."[25] Consequently, Luther cannot be given credit (or blamed) for the development of the modern spirit of capitalism.

In chapter four entitled, "The Religious Foundations of Worldly Asceticism," the origin of the spirit of modern capitalism is found in Calvinism--particularly as it is expressed in Anglo-American Puritanism. The doctrine of predestination, which was the most characteristic dogma of Calvinism,[26] with its inhuman stress on election to salvation placed man in a place of unprecedented inner loneliness before God. No one could help him. No priest or sacrament could bridge the gulf between God and man. The individual was forced to follow his path alone to meet a destiny that had been decreed for him from eternity. Only God was to be the individual's confidant, and the Calvinist's relationship with his God was carried on in deep spiritual isolation.[27]

The problem was to know how a person could be certain that he was one of the elect. This was no

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[25] Ibid., p. 85.

[26] Ibid., p. 98.

[27] Ibid., pp. 103-107.

problem for Calvin because he felt that he was a selected agent of God, and he was certain of his own salvation.[28] "Accordingly, to the question of how the individual can be certain of his own election, he has at bottom only the answer that we should be content with the knowledge that God has chosen and depend further only on that implicit trust in Christ which is the result of true faith."[29] The elect are God's invisible Church. This, however, was not sufficient for less hardy souls. There were generally two answers given to the above question by the English Puritans. First, one should consider himself chosen and to battle all doubts as temptations of the devil. Secondly, one should achieve self-confidence by intense worldly activity.[30] The Calvinists felt that they could identify true faith by a type of Christian conduct which served to increase the glory of God, and although good works were useless as a means of attaining salvation, they were indispensable as a sign of election.[31]

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[28] Ibid., p. 110.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., pp. 110-112.

[31] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

This active, ascetic self-control, Weber contends, was already typical of Western religion in the monastic movements of the middle ages, but this systematic method of rational conduct was limited alone to the monk.[32] The difference between Calvinistic and medieval asceticism was the transformation of asceticism to activity within the world. Men were forced to pursue their ascetic ideals within mundane occupations in order to prove their faith in worldly activity.[33]

Weber also spends considerable time in an attempt to show how German and English Pietism showed signs of this same worldly asceticism.[34]

He concludes the chapter by saying,

> Christian asceticism, at first fleeing from the world into solitude, had already ruled the world which it had renounced from the monastery and through the Church. But it had, on the whole, left the naturally spontaneous character of daily life in the world untouched. Now it strode into the market-place of life, slammed the door of the monastery behind it, and undertook to penetrate just that daily routine of life with its methodicalness, to fashion it into a life in the world, but neither of nor for this world.[35]

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[32] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[33] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

[34] Ibid., pp. 122-153.

[35] Ibid., p. 154.

In the final chapter entitled, "Asceticism and the Spirit of Capitalism" the author traces what he considered to be the results of the Puritan idea of the calling in the business world--especially as they are seen in the writings of Richard Baxter, one of the most famous of the late English Puritan fathers. Weber argues that while Baxter and the English Puritans often spoke against money and wealth, and their great danger and temptations, they did so only because their enjoyment lead to idleness and the temptations of the flesh. Rest and relaxation for the saints are to come in the next world, consequently, while man is on earth, he must "do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day" in order that one be certain of his state of grace. Leisure and enjoyment are to be condemned because only activity brings glory to God, thus, the deadliest of sins is the waste of time.[36] The upshot of this was that everyone was enjoined to work hard in his calling, but the most important thing here is that " . . . labour came to be considered in itself the end of life, ordained as such by God. . . . Unwillingness to work is symptomatic of the lack of grace."[37]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[37] Ibid., p. 159.

Even the wealthy should labor because everyone has a calling prepared of God, and the rich as well as the poor should labor in that calling.[38] The point here is that while unwillingness to work is an indication of the lack of grace, a man's busy life in his calling is a proof of his state of grace.[39] "'God blesseth His trade' is a stock remark about those good men who had successfully followed the divine hints."[40]

Weber stressed again and again the idea in this chapter that English Puritan asceticism fought against the spontaneous enjoyment of life and all it had to offer. He suggested that this is probably best illustrated in the struggle over the Book of Sports during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Sport was accepted if it served some rational purpose such as necessary re-creation for physical efficiency, but if for the impulsive enjoyment of life, which leads away from work in the calling, this was unacceptable. The same was true with respect to the theatre. The rejection by the English Puritans of all that appeared to be irrational and superfluous is evident in their traditional uniformity

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[38] Ibid., pp. 159-160.

[39] Ibid., p. 161.

[40] Ibid., p. 163.

of dress, which Weber contended greatly aids the capitalistic interest today in the standardization of production.[41]

Under such a regime capital would have been acquired, but the individual must not spend it unless it brought glory to God. Man is only a trustee of the goods and must give an account of every penny that is entrusted to him. The idea of man's duty to his possessions was important because it promoted the concept of thrift which was important for the accumulation of capital. Not only was one to keep the wealth undiminished for the glory of God, but there was the need to increase it, in fact, the acquisition of goods was directly willed by God.[42] This fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing.[43] "And even more important: the religious valuation of restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling, as the highest means to asceticism, and at the same time the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith, must have been the most powerful conceivable

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[41] Ibid., pp. 166-169.

[42] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

[43] Ibid., p. 172.

lever for the expansion of that attitude toward life which we have here called the spirit of capitalism."[44]

In conclusion, Weber, beginning with Luther's concept of the calling, Calvin's doctrine of eternal election, and Puritan worldly asceticism, felt that it was but a short step to the theoretical bulwarking of modern capitalism, which is an irrational, immoral, economic system that binds modern society in an "iron cage."[45]

An attempt has been made to sift Weber's ideas until only the essence remains. Having reduced the Weber thesis to its essentials, it is the purpose of this study to investigate his theory in the light of the writings of John Calvin and the English Puritans. It would seem that if Weber is correct, one should see a tendency to turn toward what might be described as proto-capitalism. As the works of Calvin and the English Puritans are studied in the following chapters, an attempt will be made to find evidence that the so-called spirit of capitalism is or is not becoming a pronounced concept or attitude in their writings.

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 181.

To be more specific, this writer will be looking for evidence of the following:

1. Emphasis on thrift and admonitions to save all that one can.
2. Teachings that foster the idea that acquisition of goods is willed of God.
3. Strictures for everyone to work as hard as possible in his calling.
4. Evidence that unwillingness to work was symptomatic of the lack of grace.
5. Concern over whether one was of the elect or not.
6. Evidence that the English Puritans equated election with success in their calling.
7. Stress on making money as the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith.
8. Admonition not to spend money except for the glory of God.
9. Commands to gain wealth for the glory of God.
10. Accent on the idea that the earning of money was an expression of virtue.
11. Aspirations to make money as an end in itself to which people are bound as a calling.
12. Indications that labor became an end in itself among the English Puritans.
13. Great concern for one's duty to earn more and more money without enjoyment of it. There is only the irrational sense of having done the job well.
14. Undue stress on asceticism and condemnation of luxury.

Of all these probably numbers three, six, seven, eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen are the most important.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT DEBATE

> This is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receive an allowance suspended until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.
>
> Sir Walter Raliegh,
> History of the World (1614)

Once Weber had set forth his theories, scholars were quick to respond in order to provide what they considered a better description of the problem. In 1909 a German writer, Felix Rachfahl, directed a series of critical articles at the Weber thesis by arguing that the so-called spirit of capitalism was older than the " . . . ascetic directions of the Reformation."[1] He also contended that the rational character of the Protestant ethic in its highest forms of Christian asceticism, which is a vital factor in the development of the spirit of capitalism and which is associated with Calvinism by Weber, already existed during the Middle Ages.[2]

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[1]Felix Rachfahl, "Kalvinismus und Kapitalismus," Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, III, No. 42 (Oktober, 1909), 1322.

[2]Ibid., No. 40 (Oktober, 1909), 1262.

"In principle this rational character was evident in the Benedictine movement, much more with the Cluniacs and Cistercians, and finally most decidedly with the Jesuits."[3] At one point Rachfahl had serious doubts as to the existence of any relationship between religious ideals and economic activity. The factors that fostered the growth of capitalism were completely separate from religious incentives. These factors were derived from such motives " . . . as the desire for honor, power, for service to one's neighbor, for the unity of the nation and for the national welfare."[4] In spite of his criticism of Weber, Rachfahl in the end maintained that " . . . there can be no doubt that a close connection existed between Calvinism and Capitalism."[5] However, the breech was made, and many took up the task of "reproving" Weber, and Rachfahl's points of contention were to find their way into the writings of other critics.

In 1911, two years after Rachfahl's first article, Ernst Troeltsch published his monumental work,

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 1252.

[5] Ibid., p. 1265.

Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen. It appeared in an English translation in 1931 by Olive Wyon as The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches. Troeltsch devotes a relatively small portion of his two-volume study to the economic ethics of Calvinism and its relation to capitalism--only some nine pages. This is a somewhat striking feature about the work since it assumes that Calvinism had such a great impact on the growth of capitalism. It is evident from this study that Troeltsch endorsed Weber's hypothesis that there was a relationship between the development of capitalism and Protestantism. This sympathy for Weber is well illustrated by the following statement about Calvinist doctrines:

> The exhortation to continual industry in labour, combined with the limitation of consumption and of luxury, produced a tendency to pile up capital, which for its part--in the necessity of its further utilization in work and not in enjoyment--necessitated an ever-increasing turnover. The duty of labour, coupled with the ban on luxury, worked out "economically as the impulse to save", and the impulse to save had the effect of building up capital. To what extent these developments took place everywhere is a separate question. Upon the whole, however, this result belonged to the very nature of the case, and it is the general opinion that this is what actually took place among the most important Calvinistic peoples.[6]

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[6]Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon (2 vols.; New York, 1931), II, 644-645.

Later, he states:

> The Protestant ethic of the "calling", with its Calvinistic assimilation of the Capitalist system, with its severity and its control of the labour rendered as a sign of the assurance of election, made service in one's "calling", the systematic exercise of one's energies, into a service both necessary in itself and appointed by God, in which profit is regarded as the sign of the Divine approval. This conception of the "calling" and of labour, with its taboo on idleness of every kind, with its utilization of every chance of gain, and its confidence in the blessing of God, now, however, to a great extent approached the commercial professions and the business of making money. It laid the foundation of a world of specialized labour, which taught men to work for work's sake, and in so doing it produced our present-day bourgeois way of life, the fundamental psychological principles which gave it birth, which, however, it was not bound to perpetuate once this way of life had become the constitution of the modern world.[7]

In spite of the support that Troeltsch's writings gave to the author of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, the Weber thesis was to receive another blow from an unexpected source. In a book entitled Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben, published in 1911, and translated into English as The Jews and Modern Capitalism, Werner Sombart asserted that the growth of capitalistic point of view in both the outer structure of the economic life of our day and the principles

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[7] Ibid., pp. 645-646.

underlying the economic life or the spirit of modern capitalism can be traced to Jewish origins.[8] This point of emphasis is later restated even more strongly in the following way:

> The Jewish outlook was the "modern" outlook; the Jew was actuated in his economic activities in the same way as the modern man. Look through the catalogue of "sins" laid at the door of the Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries, and you will find nothing in it that the trader of today does not regard as right and proper, nothing that is not taken as a matter of course in every business.[9]

Sombart found the source of the modern capitalistic outlook of the Jews in their religious teachings. "I think that the Jewish religion has the same leading ideas as Capitalism. I see the same spirit in the one as in the other."[10]

Although Weber reacted strongly to the above work, Sombart published in 1913 another book, Der Bourgeois, that again took up the problem of the spirit of Capitalism. This study was translated into English in 1915 as The Quintessence of Capitalism. In The Quintessence of Capitalism, as in his second edition of

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[8]Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, trans. M. Epstein (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), p. 115.

[9]Ibid., p. 153.

[10]Ibid., p. 205.

Der Moderne Kapitalismus (published in 1916), Sombart argued that the development of modern capitalism had begun earlier than he had previously believed.[11] The spirit of capitalism first manifested itself in Italy. "From the 13th century onward it extended over all the trading republics of Lombardy; by the 14th century it was fully developed there; and throughout the Middle Ages its intensive growth in Italy was unparalleled in Europe."[12] Of course, this lent support to Rachfahl's attack on the ideas of Weber. Sombart agreed with Weber with respect to the role of religion on the evolution of capitalism; however, he found the earliest Christian influence in the Roman Catholic Church and not in Protestantism or Calvinism in particular. In speaking about capitalism in the Middle Ages, he stated: "There is no doubt that the popes and their financial policies contributed much to the establishment of capitalism, and thus to the expansion of the capitalist spirit."[13] He went further and asserted

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[11]Werner Sombart, The Quintessence of Capitalism: A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Business Man, trans. M. Epstein (London, 1915), p. 11. Also see Sombart's article, "Capitalism" in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (15 vols.; New York, 1930-1935), III, 195-208.

[12]Ibid., p. 132.

[13]Ibid., p. 237.

that, "What is of far greater significance . . . is the influence exercised by the Catholic Church on the capitalistic spirit by reason of its doctrines."[14]

Another of the earliest writers and most critical of the Weber thesis was Lujo Brentano. In his relatively short book, Die Änfange des modernen Kapitalismus, Brentano argued that capitalism existed in the Italian towns long before the Reformation. To illustrate this point, he used considerable space considering the importance of trade between the Italian towns and North Africa during and after the Crusades.[15] He found that the Fourth Crusade in particular disclosed a veritable orgy of modern capitalism. When considering the problem of Puritanism and Capitalism, Brentano concluded that, "The spirit of capitalism arose with trade, whose essence is striving toward the largest possible profit. Its [the spirit of capitalism] expansion went hand in hand with the development of trade."[16] Brentano did not find the

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[14] Ibid., pp. 237-238.

[15] Lujo Brentano, Die Änfange des modernen Kapitalismus (Munchen, 1916), p. 33.

[16] Ibid., p. 154.

impetus for the revival of trade in the teachings of the Catholic Church as Sombart, but in the development and spread of Roman law, which had its inception in the stoic philosophy. He stressed the idea that the teachings of the Stoics and the activities of the commercial world were contrary to the doctrines of the Church and consequently individuals were forced, or at least willing to accept, the laws of men rather than the laws of God.[17]

By the time that R. H. Tawney published his monumental work, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism in 1926, it was apparent that the Weber controversy had become somewhat of a free-for-all among scholars. As the debate deepened and widened it seems there was a host of sociologists, historians, theologians, and economists who felt compelled for a variety of reasons to defend or denounce the Weber thesis. Tawney became a part of the host, and as a well-known economist he would tend to present the point of view of the economic historian.

Although Tawney accepted Weber's ideas with respect to a causal relationship between the Reformation and the development of capitalism, he rejected Weber's

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[17] Ibid., pp. 154-157.

view that the teachings of Calvin and the Puritans played a unique role in fostering the so-called spirit of capitalism. This is apparent from his statement that, "'The capitalist spirit' is as old as history, and was not, as has sometimes been said, the offspring of Puritanism."[18] In a preceding chapter he states:

> If capitalism means the direction of industry by the owners of capital for their own pecuniary gain, and the social relationship which established themselves between them and the wage-earning proletariate whom they control, then capitalism had existed on a grand scale both in mediaeval Italy and in mediaeval Flanders. If by the capitalist spirit is meant the temper which is prepared to sacrifice all moral scruples to the pursuit of profit, it had been only too familiar to the saints and sages of the Middle Ages.[19]

Tawney does stress the idea, however, that Puritanism acted as a tonic for the capitalistic spirit that already had a vigorous temper, and that Calvinism became the deciding factor in its development.[20] Tawney dwells at length on the doctrine of the "calling" as one of the most, if not the most, important ingredients, that

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[18] R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (London, 1926), p. 226.

[19] Ibid., p. 84.

[20] Ibid., p. 227.

nurtured the growth of modern capitalism.[21] In spite of the fact that he makes a striking comparison of Luther as the arch conservative and Calvin as the progressive who accepted the main institutions of a commercial civilization,[22] Tawney finds the birth of modern capitalism in the economic revolution of the late Middle Ages[23] and in the general political and social conditions of the 16th and 17th centuries[24] as well as in the Reformation as a whole.[25]

Not everyone was satisfied with Tawney's work. In 1933 H. M. Robertson, Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of Cape Town, presented to the world his criticism of Max Weber in a study entitled, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism. It might be well to point out that Robertson's work tended to complement Tawney's although he disagreed in his conclusions.

Robertson introduced his remarks by stating that it is not hard to understand why Weber's theories

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[21] Ibid., p. 240.

[22] Ibid., p. 94.

[23] Ibid., pp. 66-79.

[24] Ibid., pp. 7-10.

[25] Ibid., pp. 278-280.

were so widely adopted. Weber made the type of generalization that would have a popular appeal. Such theories can also be made to form a convenient weapon in religious controversy and in many cases have been useful to the propagandist.[26] "Many writers have taken advantage of an unpopularity of capitalism in the twentieth century to employ them in attacks on Calvinism, or on other branches of religion."[27] The author approached the problem from a historical rather than from a psychological or sociological perspective, and it is obvious that he wished to show that the spirit of capitalism had arisen " . . . rather from the material conditions of civilization than from some religious impulse."[28]

In the first chapter Robertson struck at the very heart of the controversy by attacking Weber's and Tawney's concept of the "calling." He contended that "Weber's case for asserting on philological

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[26]H. M. Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism (New York, 1959), p. xi. Hereafter cited as Robertson, Economic Individualism.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p. xvi.

grounds, that Luther had introduced a novel conception of the 'calling', bringing with it a new ideal of worldly asceticism, is not established."[29] The doctrine of Work is as old as the Christian Church. This is evident from St. Paul's statement--"we command you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." Robertson argued that the concept of a connection between daily, worldly service and service to God was found throughout the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages[30] and in the writings of the Jansenists and Jesuits in early modern Europe.[31] He leveled additional criticism at Weber by maintaining that all of the characteristics of the capitalistic system and the "spirit of capitalism," as defined by Weber, were present in Medieval Europe long before the Reformation.[32] This is particularly true in Italy and Flanders.[33] Robertson further

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[29] Ibid., p. 4.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., pp. 28-30.

[32] Ibid., p. 35.

[33] Ibid., pp. 36-56.

contended that if there was a change in attitude toward economic activity after the Reformation, it did not occur until the end of the seventeenth century, and the attitude spread among both the Protestants and Catholics.[34] "It would appear that this is in itself enough to prove that the problem has been viewed through the wrong end of the telescope--to show that the chief relation between the rise of the capitalistic spirit and the Protestant Ethic is the reverse of what Weber has indicated."[35] The ideals of the Protestants changed as the result of the influence of a rising capitalistically-minded middle class. This change reflected the changing spirit of the age and took place among the Catholics as well.[36]

Robertson explained away Weber's argument that capitalism first appeared and developed more rapidly in Protestant countries by emphasizing the influence of the geographical discoveries. The shift of the

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[34] Ibid., p. 31.

[35] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[36] Ibid., p. 32.

centers of world trade from the Mediterranean to the North Atlantic, as a result of the work of the early explorers, was a more potent cause of the national economic inequalities than religious differences. The Catholic Iberian peninsula was by-passed because of the trade-killing policy of the Spanish crown which completely barred Spain and Portugal from any effective competition.[37] Robertson defended the view that it was the expansion of trade in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans that was a prime cause of the growth of economic individualism in Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The emergence of economic individualism, which made the spirit of capitalism a respectable basis for the organization of economic effort, rested upon the severely practical grounds of the existence of forms of social organization favorable to it.[38] Thus, he concluded that, " . . . the spirit of capitalism is not the creator but the creation of the class of business men."[39]

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[37] Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[38] Ibid., p. 177.

[39] Ibid.

Robertson's view that the Jesuits had a strong impact upon economic theory elicited a strong, almost furious, rebuttal from James Brodrick, a Jesuit. Brodrick argued that Robertson's writings presented a completely false view of the teachings of the Jesuits, and that in spite of the fact that Robertson set out to prove that the Jesuits fostered the commercial spirit, there is first-hand evidence that they were actually persecuted and threatened with prison for their opposition to the spirit of commerce.[40] It was inconceivable in Brodrick's eyes that the doctrines of the Jesuits could be misconstrued in such a way as to be the prime mover in capitalistic affairs in the Weber sense of the word. He ends his rather heated criticism of Robertson on the following note:

> It is hard for a Catholic not to smile when he finds Dr. Robertson (Aspects, p. 171) arguing zealously against "any belief that Catholicism spells stagnation" in matters of trade, or that Holland's commercial greatness, either now or of old, can "be ascribed to a rigid Calvinism," without giving Catholicism any share of the credit. . . . As everybody knows, until quite

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[40] J. Brodrick, The Economic Morals of the Jesuits: An Answer to Dr. H. M. Robertson (London, 1934), p. 141.

> recently it used to be a favourite Protestant objection against the Catholic Church that the countries under her influence had the poorest trade returns. But, of course, Laissez faire and capitalism were in honour then, whereas now their glory has departed.[41]

Amintore Fanfani, an Italian economist and politician, produced a learned and lucid study in 1933 under the title, Cattolicismo e protestantismo nella formazione storica del capitalismo. This was translated in 1935 into English as, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism. In Fanfani's view Catholic social ethics are always antithetical to those of capitalism.[42] On the whole the moral teachings of Protestantism also maintain a constantly critical attitude toward capitalism.[43] He does not agree with Weber that Protestantism promoted the evolution of capitalism by introducing into the world the idea of vocation, by which each individual is bound to devote all of his energies to a particular field of work as an exercise of ascetic virtue.

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[41] Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[42] Amintore Fanfani, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism (New York, 1955), p. 151.

[43] Ibid., p. 196.

Furthermore, the Weber thesis is unacceptable in that it does not admit that the capitalist spirit existed before the Protestant Reformation.[44] Fanfani supported Robertson's contention that the geographical discoveries were of great significance in the advancement of capitalism.[45] Fanfani approached the problem from a somewhat different perspective than earlier writers when he contended that, "The absolute state encouraged the early expansion of capitalism."[46]

While Brodrick and Fanfani felt that Robertson had misinterpreted and misconstrued the teaching of the Catholic Church, Winthrop Hudson, Professor of Church History at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, considered Weber's characterization of Calvinism as over-simplified[47] and Tawney's over-all impression of the nature and character of the Puritan movement misleading.[48] Hudson also regarded Tawney's

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[44] Ibid., pp. 200-201. See also p. 160.

[45] Ibid., p. 172.

[46] Ibid., p. 105.

[47] Winthrop Hudson, "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," Church History, XVIII (March, 1949), 3. Hereafter cited as Hudson, "Spirit of Capitalism." See also W. Hudson, "The Weber Thesis Reexamined," Church History, XXX (March, 1961), 88-99.

[48] Hudson, "Spirit of Capitalism," p. 3.

interpretation of Puritan writings as distorted.[49] The misleading impressions and distorted views of Tawney are more dangerous than the ideas of Weber because they are very subtle, and his well-known work on the whole is quite sound.[50] Hudson was particularly troubled over the way in which Tawney used the writings of Puritans to underpin his suppositions. To illustrate this point Mr. Hudson argued that Weber and Tawney were able to use effectively only one statement from the writings of Baxter to support their thesis that Puritanism sanctified the pursuit of riches, and this led to the obliteration of ethical values in economic life. Even in that one statement the concept of the calling is distorted because it is isolated from its context. Tawney even ignored the qualifications within the quotation itself.[51]

Hudson's precursory criticism of Weber's thesis because of its oversimplification was complemented by Henri Sée, a French economic historian. He states it thus:

> Here now is another kind of objection which has been developed with much skill by R. Tawney in

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[49] Ibid., p. 11.

[50] Ibid., p. 3.

[51] Ibid., p. 11.

> his recent and very interesting work, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1926). The objection is that Max Weber too often considered the Puritan movement as a wholesale; although, it is very complex and does not cease to modify itself in the course of time.[52]

The Puritans, Sée maintained, had a following in all classes of society including the small masters, who were still very numerous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for whom the organization of work did not differ from that of the Middle Ages. Sée argued that the Puritans also recruited many followers among the country yeomen who formed the great part of Cromwell's armies. In the left wing of the Puritan movement in the seventeenth century, during the Revolution, were the radical democrats, the Levellers, who vigorously protested against the exploitation of the people.[53] Weber not only oversimplified his characterization of Puritanism, but this is also true with regard to his concept of the spirit of capitalism as well as the capitalistic system as a whole.[54] Sée opposed Weber's ideas, but he seemed to be greatly

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[52]Henri Sée, "Dans quelle mesure puritans et juifs ont-ils contributé aux progrès du capitalisme moderne?," Revue Historique, CLV (May-Août, 1927), 62.

[53]Ibid., p. 62.

[54]Ibid., p. 63.

impressed by Tawney's conclusions. This is particularly true with regard to Tawney's argument that the spirit of capitalism was not a product of Puritanism, but that it had served as a tonic.[55] "The most fruitful sources of modern capitalism," according to Sée, "without doubt, have been the great maritime discoveries which began with the expeditions of the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean."[56]

One of the most persistent and outspoken critics of Weber and his followers is Albert Hyma, a Reformation specialist, formerly of the University of Michigan. In a number of articles and books Hyma has vigorously assaulted the major contentions of the author of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism mainly for historical reasons. In considering the economic ideas of John Calvin, Hyma introduced his remarks by the following statement:

> John Calvin, as is well known, differed from Luther in that he was of Latin stock, belonged to the upper class, spent much of his life in large and prosperous cities, and was twenty-six years younger. This difference in heredity and environment is commonly utilized as a well-nigh infallible

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[55] Ibid., p. 64.

[56] Henri Sée, Les origines du capitalisme moderne (Paris, 1946), p. 49.

> criterion for establishing a definite line of demarcation between the two reformers. Luther the "peasant" could not help but be reactionary and opposed to capitalism, while Calvin the Bourgeois was friendly to the modern spirit.[57]

After presenting key passages from the economic writings of Calvin, Hyma arrived at the conclusion that Calvin made no remarks which did not remind him forcibly of Luther's pronouncements. Hyma advocated the idea that if all of the Bible commentaries of Calvin had come down to us without the name of the author having been attached to them, and if we had not been informed repeatedly by so-called theology and economic experts that Calvin made great strides in advance of Luther, it would have seemed natural to guess that Luther had much to do with their authorship.[58] Hyma would argue that Luther's pronouncements on economic matters were very similar to Calvin's, and that the German monk was much more interested in economic questions than the leader of the Genevans. He illustrated this by referring to Luther's address to the magistrates of Danzig in 1525 and to his commentary on the gospel of Matthew.[59] This is not to say that

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[57] Albert Hyma, Renaissance to Reformation (Grand Rapids, 1951), p. 440.

[58] Ibid., p. 451.

[59] Ibid., pp. 451-452.

Luther was more favorable to the spirit of modern capitalism than Calvin, but that Calvin was more conservative in his economic ideas than is generally considered. Hyma further contended that " . . . capitalism is the enemy of Calvinism, for Calvin and his devoted followers were aware of the tenor of Christ's urgent exhortation to concentrate their chief attention upon the things of the spirit."[60] In an article in The Journal of Modern History Hyma accused Weber of having misunderstood Calvin's doctrine of predestination and of using naive reasoning with respect to several theological questions.[61] He further maintained that the Church of the Middle Ages was responsible for a number of theories and practices which, according to many Protestants of our day, were developed by the Protestants, " . . . such as the emphasis upon doing one's daily tasks with scrupulous care, [which was supposed to have come from Calvin's doctrine of predestination] the dignity and worth of commerce

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[60]Albert Hyma, Christianity, Capitalism and Communism (Ann Arbor, 1936), p. 84.

[61]Albert Hyma, "Calvinism and Capitalism In The Netherlands," The Journal of Modern History, X (Sept., 1938), 323.

and industry, as well as the necessity of acquiring a comfortable income."[62]

It is of considerable interest, as one reads, to note and speculate upon the influence of Weber's thesis upon the work of scholars. An excellent example of this influence can be detected in the writings of Archdeacon W. Cunningham of England. In his book, An Essay On Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects, published in 1900, four years before Weber's well-known work, Cunningham fostered the idea that the conditions for what he called the "intervention of capitalism" were increasing secularization and the rise of the nation state.[63] These conditions were established in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The influence of Calvinism is not even considered. The point is that the development of capitalism took place apart from the influence of the Reformation.

In 1914 Cunningham published another book, Christianity and Economic Science, in which he

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[62] Ibid., pp. 336-337.

[63] W. Cunningham, An Essay On Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects (London, 1900), pp. 138-164.

reconsidered the reasons for the rise of capitalism. By this time he had come under the influence of Max Weber and his disciples. In his work of 1900 Archdeacon Cunningham stressed the idea that the disruption of Christianity was well underway long before the Reformation and that the hostile forces of secularism and nationalism had undermined clerical authority in Christendom.[64] In 1914 it was the Reformation that had caused Europeans to throw off papal allegiance and had caused them to reject the authority by which Christian morals had been enforced at active centers of economic life. It was Luther and Calvin that paved the way for a thorough-going individualism in both Church and state, which was a prime factor in the evolution of the spirit of capitalism.[65] It was Calvinism in particular that permitted free play to the commercial spirit. "The attitude of Calvinism to commercial life was ultimately due to the deliberate acceptance of the Old Testament as the rule for conduct in a Christian society; but the connection was strengthened by the conditions of the community in which Calvinism was

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[64] Ibid., p. 157.

[65] W. Cunningham, Christianity and Economic Science (London, 1914), p. 58.

first planted and the atmosphere in which it flourished."[66] It was in Scotland that Calvinism attained its full development and where one can best see its influence on national life.[67] Calvin had removed the ban under which business in commercial cities had been placed, and it is in Scotland that one can clearly see the line which was taken in regard to industrial employment. Unemployment and idleness were discouraged, and the discipline of work was regarded as the first step toward the introduction of a godly, righteous, and sober life into the community.[68] Cunningham finally concluded that, "Calvinism is a form of Christianity which gave its sanction to the free exercise of the commercial spirit and to the capitalist organization of industry."[69]

The English economic historian, W. J. Ashley, likewise lent his support to the main contentions of Weber, although his work seems to have been independent of the German sociologist in that Ashley published his

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[66] Ibid., p. 65.

[67] Ibid., p. 66.

[68] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[69] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

work before Weber published his. It was his judgment that the final breach with medieval doctrine among those the Roman Catholic communion came from Calvin, and that he was certainly influential in weakening the old repugnance to usury.[70] "Calvin's teaching was . . . in a real sense, a turning-point in the history of European thought."[71]

One of the most recent and most caustic works directed at the hypotheses of Weber is Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber by Kurt Samuelsson, a Swedish economic historian. This book was originally published in Sweden in 1957 under the title Ekonomi och religion and was translated into English in 1961. Mr. Samuelsson attacks with considerable gusto the notion that a functional relationship exists between capitalism and religious faith. He forcefully argues that what was preached by such men as Calvin, Fox, and Wesley was " . . . no free-for-all capitalism of the kind that came to hold sway over the industrializing nations in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the business activity of

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[70] W. J. Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory (London, 1893), p. 458.

[71] Ibid., p. 459.

a world of small traders and handicrafts, hedged around with moralistic precepts and dogmas."[72] The anti-capitalist theme, the idea that riches and the lust for them were wicked, was an integral part of their teachings. Wealth as an end in itself was odious.[73] In considering the writings of the English Puritan Divines, Samuelsson contends that Weber drew his conclusions from source material that consisted " . . . of a few sentences, statements made on isolated occasions and devoid of mutual relation, often clearly contradictory and not infrequently framed with such oracular sophistry that it is impossible for the reader of a later age to determine with certainty the intrinsic meaning, much less to draw delicate inferences of the type propounded by Weber."[74] An excellent illustration of this point is found in Samuelsson's argument that " . . . Baxter's conception of the 'calling' has no connection with the notion that success in worldly affairs and the increase of business and fortune are a mark of God's favour or a foretaste of the joys that

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[72]Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action, p. 31.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid., p. 36.

await the faithful in Heaven."[75] A man is not to " . . . choose the vocation in life that promises the maximum advantage in money or esteem, but that in which he can best serve God and most easily avoid sin."[76] The suggestion is that Weber has twisted the teachings of the Puritans to fit his thesis.

In the final chapter Samuelsson states: "Our scrutiny of Puritan doctrine and capitalist ideology, of the capitalistic spirit that Weber saw personified in Benjamin Franklin and the American captains of industry, has rendered untenable the hypothesis of a connection between Puritanism and capitalism in which religion motivated economics."[77] His conclusion is that, " . . . whether we start from the doctrine of Puritanism and 'capitalism' or from the actual concept of a correlation between religion and economic action, we can find no support for Weber's theories. Almost all the evidence contradicts them."[78]

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[75] Ibid., p. 37.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 153.

[78] Ibid., p. 154.

Before we turn our attention to the teachings of John Calvin, it might be well to point out that the writings involving the Weber thesis seem at times to be unending and that the works that have been sampled in this study to illustrate the controversy are limited because of space. However, I have attempted to provide in the bibliography a more complete picture of the wealth of existing materials that have some bearing on the Weber debate.

CHAPTER III

SOME THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF JOHN CALVIN AS THEY RELATE TO THE WEBER THESIS

It has been fashionable, since Max Weber developed his well-known thesis, to picture John Calvin as the fountainhead from which flowed the "spirit of modern capitalism." According to Weber, it was the gloomy doctrine of predestination, which was the most characteristic dogma of Calvinism,[1] that formed the dogmatic background of the Puritan morality in the sense of methodically rationalized ethical conduct.[2] This rationalized ethical conduct is the basis of Christian asceticism from which is derived the concept of the calling.[3] It was the emphasis on the ascetic importance of a fixed calling that provided an ethical justification for practices that produced the "spirit of modern capitalism."[4]

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[1]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 98.

[2]Ibid., p. 125.

[3]Ibid., p. 180.

[4]Ibid., p. 163.

It has also been in vogue to picture Luther's capitalistic ideas and teachings on taking of interest as definitely backward,[5] while Calvin encouraged the taking of interest, and, consequently, he is supposed to have been the first person of any importance to have had such a modern and enlightened view. It was Calvin who rejected the canonical veto on usury and the scholastic ideas on money, and on the contrary he supported a doctrine of money, credit, and usury which were closer to modern economic thought. The decisive turning point with respect to capitalism was thought to be in Geneva, and John Calvin was the man who opened the floodgate in the development of the "spirit of modern capitalism."[6] Another factor that supposedly has contributed to the "spirit of modern capitalism" is the tendency of the Calvinists to look upon brotherly love only as a means of bringing glory to God and not as a service to the flesh.

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[5] Ibid., p. 83.

[6] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, II, 642-645. See also Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 201.

Such service would be of an impersonal character and devoid of any real interest in the welfare of individuals or the community.[7]

In light of what has been stated above, the goal of this chapter and the following chapter will be to consider some of the theological, social and economic works of John Calvin, to see to what extent one could be justified in seeking the origin of the "spirit of modern capitalism" in his teachings and writings.

A. Scripture As The Basis Of Calvin's Teachings

In the beginning of this study of Calvin's ideas it is of the utmost importance to always remember that Calvin's theological doctrines are based upon Scripture, and his social and economic views are related to the teachings of the Bible and how the Christian should conduct his life. "More consistently than any other Reformation leader, Calvin taught that the Bible was the sole authority in matters of faith and conduct."[8] It is true that he drew heavily

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[7]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 108-109.

[8]Georgia Harkness, John Calvin: The Man and and His Ethics (New York, 1931), p. 66. Hereafter cited as Harkness, John Calvin.

upon the affirmations of the early Church fathers, and even upon the teachings of the Schoolmen, but above all he drew upon the Bible for his system of doctrine and system of morals.[9] Williston Walker asserts that " . . . Far more than Luther . . . Calvin treated the Scriptures as a new law regulative of the Christian life."[10] According to John T. McNeill, another outstanding Reformation scholar, the Scriptures were Calvin's " . . . guide, authority, and arsenal."[11] The reason Calvin placed such emphasis on the importance of the Scriptures was that they were " . . . to be regarded as the oracles of God."[12] Consequently, " . . . those secrets of his will, which he has seen it meet to manifest, are revealed in his word."[13] The men who wrote the Bible were not

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Williston Walker, John Calvin: The Organizer of Reformed Protestantism (New York, 1906), p. 412. Hereafter cited as Walker, Calvin.

[11] The History and Character of Calvinism (New York, 1954), p. 203. Hereafter cited as McNeill, Calvinism.

[12] John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, 1957), Book IV, Chapter viii, Section 9. Hereafter cited as Institutes, according to Book, Chapter, Section. (e.g., Institutes, IV, viii, 9).

[13] Ibid., III, xxi, 1.

just writing good literature, but " . . . they were sure and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit."[14] This same strong conviction that the Holy Writ was inspired of God is evident in the following passages from his commentaries. Calvin writes: " . . . but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. They did not of themselves, or according to their own will, foolishly deliver their own inventions. . . . They dared not to announce anything of their own, and obediently followed the Spirit as their guide, who ruled in their mouths as in his own sanctuary."[15]

In commenting on the Second Epistle to Timothy, Calvin states: "This is a principle which distinguishes our religion from all others, that we know that God hath spoken to us, and are fully convinced that the prophets did not speak at their own suggestion, but that, being organs of the Holy Spirit, they only uttered what they had been commissioned from heaven to declare."[16]

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[14] Ibid., IV, viii, 9.

[15] Works of John Calvin, Numerous translators (52 vols.; Edinburgh, 1843-1855), VL, 390-391. Hereafter cited as Works of Calvin.

[16] Ibid., XLIII, 248-249. 2 Tim. 3:16.

Another pertinent and interesting observation is that "Calvin considered the Bible a proof of God's loving-kindness to weak and sinful humanity."[17] He says:

> For as the aged, or those whose sight is defective, when any book, however fair is set before them, though they perceive that there is something written, are scarcely able to make out two consecutive words, but, when aided by glasses, begin to read distinctly, so Scripture, gathering together the impressions of Deity, which, till then, lay confused in their minds, dissipates the darkness, and shows us the true God clearly. God therefore bestows a gift of singular value, when, for the instruction of the Church, he employs not dumb teachers merely, but opens his sacred mouth; when he not only proclaims that some God must be worshipped, but at the same time declares that He is the God to whom worship is due.[18]

There is certainly little, if any, correlation between Calvin's concept of divine revelation in the Scriptures and Weber's theory of unprecedented inner loneliness of the individual as a result of the inhuman doctrine of predestination. According to Weber, man was forced to follow his path alone to meet his destiny without comfort or guidance. No one could help him, no priest, no sacraments as a means of attaining

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[17]Hugh Reyburn, John Calvin: His Life, Letters, and Work (London, 1914), p. 351. Hereafter cited as Reyburn, Calvin.

[18]Institutes, I, vi, 1.

grace, no magic.[19] The point here is that Calvin placed greater reliance upon the Bible to point men to God and to provide a standard by which they should conduct their daily lives.

> Whether God revealed himself to the fathers by oracles and visions, or, by instrumentality and ministry of men, suggested what they were to hand down to posterity, there cannot be a doubt that the certainty of what he taught them was firmly engraved on their hearts, so that they felt assured and knew that the things which they learnt came forth from God, who invariably accompanied his word with a sure testimony, infinitely superior to mere opinion.[20]

B. Predestination

It is now necessary to turn our attention for a few moments to the "dark," "gloomy," and "inhuman" doctrine of predestination which according to Max Weber increased perceptibly in importance for Calvin over a period of time[21] and eventually became the most characteristic dogma of Calvinism.[22]

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[19]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 104. The problem of sacraments and priests will be considered later in the study on predestination.

[20]Institutes, I, vi, 2.

[21]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 102.

[22]Ibid., p. 98.

Before looking at what Calvin has to say about the doctrine of predestination, it might be relevant to this study to examine the writings of some Calvin scholars to ascertain their thoughts on the significance of the doctrine in comparison to Calvin's total contribution to the world of thought. John T. McNeill states:

> It is not easy to say with confidence precisely where his thought has its center or what he would have us regard as its dominant theme. Is the sovereigh majesty of God the conception about which his whole message revolves? Or does it center, as is often popularly assumed, in the doctrine of election? Or is he really indifferent to the priority of any one major doctrine over another and primarily concerned to be an interpreter of the divine Book, the Word of God by which man obtains a knowledge of salvation?[23]

Hugh Reyburn argues that, "Calvin's doctrine of predestination is not set forth as a primary doctrine of his theology. It appears as a logical development of his original principles."[24] In dealing with the problem of election as the central dogma of Calvin's theology, Wilhelm Niesel states: "If this be the case,

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[23] Calvinism, p. 201.

[24] Calvin, p. 364.

then all that we have so far said [about the theology of John Calvin] is false."[25]

Later Niesel asserts:

> Indeed, Calvin's reserve treatment of the problem [election] is rather to be seen as a warning against a too diffused discussion which might easily degenerate into mere speculation. If we refuse to see that--and, as far as externals are concerned, it is already clear from the place which Calvin has allocated to this doctrine in the total structure of his theology--then it is because we refuse to see it and because here as elsewhere we are adapting the theology of Calvin to suit our private views just as we please.[26]

To illustrate what Mr. Niesel has said and to give more substance to what all the quoted authors have stated, it is appropriate at this time to make mention of the fact that the Institutes of the Christian Religion, the most important single theological work of John Calvin, treats four major topics: God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Church. Of the eighty chapters in the Institutes only four in Book III (chaps. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV) are devoted to the doctrine of predestination. Albert Hyma contends that,

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[25]Wilhelm Niesel, The Theology of Calvin, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 159. Hereafter cited as Niesel, Calvin's Theology.

[26]Ibid., p. 166.

> Everybody knows a great deal about predestination. God determined that everybody had his place in the world and nothing could be done for those who were on the way to disgrace, so we are told. Calvin was stern, remorseless, bitter in his outlook upon life and human nature. But Calvin himself said comparatively little about . . . predestination.[27]

"Calvin's doctrine of predestination," Hyma maintains, "must be looked upon as a mere article of faith among many others of equal importance."[28]

There are other germane questions with regard to the doctrine of election that need to be raised and answered. Weber regarded election as a dark and gloomy doctrine which produced a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual. The reason for this was that man was forced to follow his path alone to meet his destiny. No one could help him. There was no priest, nor could the sacraments help since they are not a means to attain grace, while all magic connected with salvation was disallowed. This inner loneliness caused men to raise the questions, am I one of the elect, and how can I be sure of a state

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[27]Albert Hyma, The Life of John Calvin (Grand Rapids, 1943), p. 100.

[28]Ibid., p. 101.

of grace? Weber contended that the Calvinists found the answers to these questions in pursuing ascetic ideals within mundane occupations. Thus, " . . . a man's life in his calling is an exercise in ascetic virtue, a proof of his state of grace through his conscientiousness, which is expressed in the care and method with which he pursues his calling."[29] The " . . . fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing."[30]

The question at this point is what was the attitude of Calvin and his followers toward predestination and the terrible God who decreed their destiny from eternity. Williston Walker believes that

> . . . of the comfort which Calvin and his disciples drew from the doctrine of election there can be no question. To a persecuted Protestant of Paris it must have been an unspeakable consolation to feel that God had a plan of salvation for him, individually, from all eternity, and that nothing that priest or king could do could frustrate the divine purpose in his behalf. Nor was it less a source of strength to one profoundly conscious of his own sinfulness to feel that his salvation was based on the unshakable rock of the decree of God Himself.[31]

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[29]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 161.

[30]Ibid., p. 172.

[31]Walker, Calvin, p. 418.

Better yet, it would be apropos to turn back the pages of time to 1561, the year in which the Belgic Confession was composed.[32] Here is what it says:

> This doctrine [of predestination] affords us unspeakable consolation, since we are taught thereby that nothing can befall us by chance, but by the direction of our most gracious and heavenly Father, who watches over us with a paternal care, keeping all creatures so under his power that not a hair of our head (for they are all numbered), not a sparrow, can fall to the ground, without the will of our Father, in whom we do entirely trust; being persuaded that he so restrains the devil and all our enemies that, without his will and permission, they cannot hurt us.[33]

In scanning the section on predestination in the canons of the synod of Dort of 1619, one repeatedly comes across such phrases as:

> . . . God is the sole cause of this gracious election, . . . adoring the depth of his mercies, and rendering grateful returns of ardent love to him who first manifest so great love toward them, . . . and therefore with holy adoration of these mysteries, [of election] we exclaim,

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[32]The Belgic Confession was composed in French by Guy De Brès for the Churches in Flanders and the Netherlands in 1561. De Brès died a martyr for his faith in 1567. The Confession was adopted by a Reformed Synod at Emden in 1571 and by the National Synod of Dort in 1619.

[33]Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom (3 vols.; New York, 1877), III, 397. Hereafter cited as Schaff, Creeds.

> in the words of the Apostle: "O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"[34]

The other Calvinist confessions of the sixteenth century convey the same attitude of love toward God and confidence in His mercy. The Calvinists' attitude toward God and the doctrine of election as recorded in their confession of faith and the attitude described by Weber are certainly poles apart.

But what of Calvin's attitude toward God and the doctrine of election? It is true that Calvin placed great stress upon the idea of the majesty of God, and it is also true that he regarded predestination as a difficult doctrine; however, it would take a book to reproduce the many quotations from Calvin's works in which he speaks of the mercy and love of God who is a kind Heavenly Father who has revealed His boundless mercy to man in the doctrine of election. Only a few illustrations are necessary to make this clear. "No doctrine [election] is more useful," Calvin asserts in commenting on the Epistle to the Ephesians, "provided it be handled in the proper and cautious manner, of which Paul gives us as example,

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[34] Ibid., III, 581-585.

when he presents it as an illustration of the infinite goodness of God, and employs it as an excitement to gratitude."[35] For Calvin the doctrine of election is the true fountain from which men must draw their knowledge of the divine mercy.[36] Again Calvin states: "The material cause both of eternal election, and of the love which is now revealed, is Christ, the Beloved. This name is given, to remind us that by him the love of God is communicated to us."[37] In writing on the book of Romans Calvin speaks of being " . . . thoroughly persuaded of the paternal love of God, as to be able to retain our rejoicing on its account."[38] Calvin then says:

> . . . Paul brings forward the price of our redemption in order to prove that God favours us: and doubtless it is a remarkable and clear evidence of inappreciable love, that the Father refused not to bestow his Son for our salvation. And so Paul draws an argument from the greater to the less, that as he had nothing dearer, or more precious, or more excellent than his Son, he will neglect nothing of what he foresees will be profitable to us.[39]

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[35] Works of Calvin, XLI, 199. Eph. 1:4.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 201. Eph. 1:5.

[38] Ibid., XXXVIII, 322. Romans 8:32.

[39] Ibid.

Later, in the same volume when writing about the election of God, Calvin states: " . . . in the salvation of the godly nothing higher must be sought than the goodness of God."[40] In the section on election in the Institutes Calvin over and over writes of the "boundless goodness" of God and how men are to seek the "paternal mercy and favour of God" in Christ.[41] The same is true in the French Confession of Faith prepared by Calvin and his pupil DeChandieu and revised and approved by a synod at Paris in 1559.[42] The optimistic spirit of John Calvin with respect to the doctrine of predestination and the mercy and goodness of God is the same that has been noted earlier in the Confessions of Faith in the sixteenth century.

Weber asserted that the dark and gloomy doctrine produced a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual because man was forced to follow his path alone without the help of priest, sacrament, or magic. In the case of magic,

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[40] Ibid., p. 348. Romans 9:11.

[41] These two examples are taken from pp. 242 and 244.

[42] Schaff, Creeds, III, 364.

there was no place for it in Calvin's doctrine of salvation. It is also true that there was no help forthcoming from the priests in the functional sense of the Middle Ages; however, this is not to do away with the importance of the leadership of the Calvinist Church in that the pastor was the minister of the Living Word of God to the people, who provided instruction, encouragement, and consolation for the distressed and weary pilgrims from time to time. Calvin begins his doctrine of the Church by the observation that men are made partakers of salvation and eternal blessedness by faith in Christ. Because of man's ignorance and sloth, however, he needs external helps by which faith may be obtained and increased. To accommodate man in his infirmity, God has given such helps and secures the effectual preaching of the gospel by depositing this treasure with the Church.[43] "He has appointed pastors and teachers, by whose lips he might edify his people; he has invested them with authority, and in short, omitted nothing that might conduce to holy consent in the faith, and to right order."[44] Pastors are raised up of God for the

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[43] Institutes, IV, i, 1.

[44] Ibid.

renewing of the saints and for the edifying of the body of the Church.[45] Again in the book of Romans Calvin argues that the task of the Christian pastor is to help men to God by bringing them to obey the gospel.[46] God has also instituted the sacraments as external helps to bring men unto Himself.[47] The administration of the sacraments was an act of worship that was to be engaged in by the entire Church and was to be a means of sustaining and confirming the individual's faith.[48] The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be a tangible symbol " . . . to assure us that the body of Christ was once sacrificed for us, so that we may now eat it, and eating, feel within ourselves the efficacy of that one sacrifice."[49] The role of the sacraments was to seal and confirm God's promise of grace and salvation.[50]

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[45] Works of Calvin, XLI, 277-282. Eph. 4:11.

[46] Ibid., XXXVIII, 527. Romans 15:15. Chapter III in Book IV of the Institutes is given over entirely to this problem.

[47] Institutes, IV, i, 1.

[48] Ibid., xvii, 43-44.

[49] Ibid., sec. 1.

[50] Ibid., sec. 4.

Although it is common practice to look upon the Calvinists as strongly individualistic in their religious faith, Calvin taught that God had afforded another external means of helping to sustain his own. This was through the communion of the saints. "Everyone of us must maintain brotherly concord with all the children of God, give due authority to the Church, and, in short, conduct ourselves as sheep of the flock."[51] The saints are to be united in Christ and all the blessings which God bestows upon them are mutually communicated to each other.[52] "So available is communion with the Church to keep us in the fellowship of God. In the very term communion there is great consolation; because, while we are assured that everything which God bestows on his members belongs to us, all the blessings conferred upon them confirm our hope."[53] Finally, a point that was stressed earlier must be reemphasized again. This was the thought of the great reliance of Calvin upon Scripture as the source of authority for doctrine and daily activity. The secrets

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[51] Institutes, IV, i, 3.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

of His will which God desires to disclose to man are revealed in His word.[54] The Scriptures, then, were to provide comfort and strength to the individual as did the communion of the saints, the sacraments, and the Christian pastors. Consequently, it would seem as though he should not have been as alone and devoid of solace as Weber states.

C. Calling

Inner loneliness, Weber argues, caused men to ask the questions, "Am I of the elect?" and "How can I be sure of a state of grace?" The Calvinist supposedly found his answer in the pursuit of ascetic ideals within some mundane occupation. A man's life in his calling was to be an exercise in ascetic virtue which was a proof of grace while the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing. Weber attempts to establish the fact that one's duty in a calling is most characteristic of the social ethic of capitalistic culture.[55] Labor in the capitalistic society must be performed as if it were an absolute end in itself, a

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[54] Ibid., III, 21, 1.

[55] Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 54.

calling.[56] This attitude toward labor Weber traces to Calvin and to the need of his followers to find the certainty of their election. Good works were a sign of their election. This author agrees with Georgia Harkness' opinion that Weber overstrained this point, for when Calvin talks of one's vocation he is usually referring to one's divine "calling," not his secular occupation.[57]

> In view of all that Weber has to say about the religious significance in Calvinism of one's secular calling, one is surprised upon searching Calvin's writings to find that he has very little to say about the economic aspects of one's vocatio. He has a great deal to say about vocatio in its religious meaning, in reference to the calling (i.e. the election) of God's saints.[58]

The uses of vocatio in its double meaning of secular vocation and divine calling are very few.[59] Such a passage is I Cor. 7:20. However, in reading this passage and the one that follows, there will not be found any justification for Weber's view that the individual should labor in his calling to prove his election.

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[56] Ibid., p. 62.

[57] John Calvin, p. 79.

[58] Ibid., p. 210.

[59] Ibid.

No case is made, whatsoever, for ascetic activity in a worldly occupation. The spirit of this writing with respect to a life calling would be comparable to that of Luther's.[60] A check was made on ten references in Calvin's commentaries with regard to the words "calling" and "vocation" and in all instances, as far as it was possible for this author to discern, they had nothing to do with a secular vocation in the sense Mr. Weber uses the term.[61] Perhaps the difference in point of view existing between Calvin, the Christian pastor, and Weber, the sociologist, is summed up by the former: "What he [God] hath made sacred cannot, without signal insult to him, be applied to profane use."[62]

A problem closely associated with the concept of the calling was the attaining of certainty of

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[60]The same can be said of Calvin's concept of the calling as described in the Institutes, III, v, 6. "Every man's mode of life . . . is a kind of station assigned him by the Lord, that he may not be always driven about at random."

[61]The following are the ten references in Calvin's Commentaries: Heb. 3:1, Phil. 3:14, Rom. 11:29, Eph. 4:1, I Corth. 1:26, Eph. 4:4, Eph. 1:18, 2 Tim. 1:9, 2 Pet. 1:10, 2 Thes. 1:11.

[62]Institutes, III, vii, 1.

election by means of labor.[63] There is little need to linger with this point for long because Calvin's writings abound with statements to the contrary, while one will search in vain for expressions of opinion in which Calvin supported the idea that works are helpful in permitting the believer to attain a secure knowledge of his election. In the chapter on justification Calvin maintained that,

> In this matter the minds of men must be specially guarded against two pestiferous dogmas--viz. against putting any confidence in the righteousness of works or ascribing any glory to them . . . . For who can attribute any merit of righteousness to works, which instead of giving confidence, only make us tremble in the presence of God? . . . Foolish men are puffed up to this false and lying confidence by the erroneous idea that the cause of their salvation is in works.[64]

When the question arises as to whether the stability of one's calling and election depends on good work, Calvin aruges that if this were so, it follows that it depends on man.[65] "But the whole Scripture teaches us, first, that God's election is founded on his eternal purpose; and secondly, that calling begins and is completed

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[63]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 179.

[64]Institutes, III, xiv, 16.

[65]Works of Calvin, XLV, 376. 2 Pet. 1:10.

through his gratuitous goodness."[66] "There is no other basis for this election," Calvin contends in his writing on Romans, "than the goodness of God alone, and also since the fall of Adam, his mercy; which embraces whom he pleased, without any regard whatever to their works."[67] In writing about obtaining eternal life by the merit of good works Calvin makes the following pronouncement:

> It is true that God accepts as given to himself everything that is bestowed on the poor. But even the most perfect hardly perform the hundredth part of their duty; and therefore our liberality does not deserve to be brought into account before God. So far are we from rendering full payment, that, if God should call us to a strict account, there is not one of us who would not be a bankrupt.[68]

The reason Calvin excludes works in attaining salvation or as a sign of election was that the material cause of salvation is Christ while the instrumental cause is faith. Listen as Calvin speaks:

> The efficient cause of our eternal salvation the Scripture uniformly proclaims to be the mercy and free love of the heavenly Father towards us; the material cause to be Christ, with the obedience by which he purchased righteousness for us; and what can the formal or instrumental

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., XXXVIII, 349. Romans 9:11.

[68] Ibid., XLIII, 172. 1 Tim. 6:19.

> be but faith? John includes the three in one sentence when he says, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16).[69]

There certainly is not any room for works, doubt, gloom or spirit of capitalism in the foregoing statements.

D. Asceticism

In concluding this study on the problems related to the doctrine of predestination, it is necessary to consider for a few moments the teaching of Calvin on asceticism. In the concept of the calling, according to Weber, there was an emphasis placed on the methodical character of worldly asceticism.[70] This asceticism was supposed to have played its part in developing that formalistic, hard, correct character which was peculiar to the men of the heroic age of capitalism.[71] Hugh Reyburn contends that the strictest morality is demanded by Calvinism. It teaches that the disciples of Christ are bound to be holy as God is holy and pure as He is pure.[72]

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[69] Institutes, III, xiv, 17. There are many other passages that reject works as a sign, yet provide assurance and confidence of salvation in Christ. Examples: Institutes, III, xxi, 5., Institutes, III, xxiv, 5., Institutes, III, xiv, 18.

[70] Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 162.

[71] Ibid., p. 166.

[72] John Calvin, p. 358.

"The Spirit who energizes in them is the Spirit of holiness, through whose operation they are delivered both from the love and from the power of sin. But Calvin does not confound holiness with asceticism."[73] Calvin neither demands inhuman austerity nor permits indulgence. He says:

> There have been some good and holy men who, when they saw intemperance and luxury perpetually carried to excess, if not strictly curbed, and were desirous to correct so pernicious an evil, imagined that there were no other method than to allow man to use corporal goods only in so far as they were necessaries: A counsel pious indeed, but unnecessarily austere; for it does the very dangerous thing of binding consciences in closer fetters than those in which they are bound by the word of God. Moreover, necessity, according to them, was abstinence from everything which could be wanted, so that they held it scarcely lawful to make any addition to bread and water.[74]

The Scriptures had laid down general rules for the legitimate use of worldly goods.[75] Goods are not only for necessity but for human enjoyment and delight.

> Now then, if we consider for what end he created food, we shall find that he consulted not only for our necessity, but also for our enjoyment and delight. Thus in clothing, the end was, in addition to necessity, comeliness and honour; and in herbs, fruits, and trees, besides their various uses, gracefulness of appearance and sweetness of smell. Were it not so, the

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Institutes, XXX, x, 1.

[75] Ibid.

> Prophets would not enumerate among the mercies of God "wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine" (Ps. civ. 15). The Scriptures would not everywhere mention, in commendation of his benignity, that he had given such things to men. The natural qualities of things themselves demonstrate to what end, and how far, they may be lawfully enjoyed. Has the Lord adorned flowers with all the beauty which spontaneously presents itself to the eye, and the sweet odour which delights the sense of smell, and shall it be unlawful for us to enjoy that beauty and this odour? What? Has he not so distinguished colours as to make some more agreeable than others? Has he not given qualities to gold and silver, ivory and marble, thereby rendering them precious above other metals or stones? In short, has he not given many things a value without having any necessary use?[76]

On the other hand, Calvin warns men to be on guard against the lusts of the flesh, which, if not kept in order, break through all bounds, and are advocated by those who, under pretense of liberty, allow themselves every sort of license.[77] Calvin does not seem to be quite so heartless and opposed to the enjoyment of material life as he is pictured by Weber.

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[76] Ibid., III, x, 2.

[77] Ibid., sec. 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS THE BASIS OF CALVINS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS

A. The Life Of A Christian Man: Social Views

As one approaches the study of the Reformation Era, it seemingly is not difficult to look at the period as a time of social, political, cultural and economic revolution. It is true that there were great changes with relation to all of these areas of daily life. But it is important not to forget for a moment that Calvin's social and economic theories are decidedly determined by his religious convictions that are based upon the teachings of Holy Writ.

Throughout his later life nearly all of his writings and actions were influenced by the religious ideas he came to possess as a result of his continual study of the Bible. This is evident in all of his statements with respect to the life of the Christian man in his social environment.

Calvin recognized the fact that individual man, as a part of the human race, was bound together in some kind of social order with responsibilities toward other people.

"Christ might have stated simply, that the word neighbour extends indiscriminately to every man, because the whole human race is united by a sacred bond of fellowship. And, indeed the Lord employed this word in the Law, for no other reason than to draw us sweetly to mutual kindness."[1] It is enough, therefore, that a person is a man to make him one's neighbor for it is not in our power to blot out our common nature.[2] The classical question that is raised is "who is my neighbor?" Calvin answered this in the following manner: "This word 'neighbor' includes all mankind: he then, who says, that a very few, according to his own fancy, ought to be honoured, and others passed by, does not keep the law of God, but yields to the depraved desires of his own heart."[3] God expressly entrusts to us strangers and enemies, and all, even the most contemptible.[4] In commenting on the Pentateuch he wrote: "Not only those with whom we have some connection are called neighbours, but all without exception; for the whole human race forms one body, of which all are members; and consequently should

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[1] Works of Calvin, XXXIII, 61. Harmony of the Evangelists: Luke 10:30.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., XLV, 305. James 2:8.

[4] Ibid.

be bound together by mutual ties."[5] Not only are all men neighbors and have mutual ties but " . . . there is a mutual obligation between all men."[6] This obligation entails the responsibility of each person to consider the welfare of all men in society and to do what can be done to help them. "Since it is not right that a servant should refuse what his lord has himself undertaken, it would be very strange in us to wish an exemption from the duty of bearing the infirmities of others, to which Christ, in whom we glory as our Lord and King, submitted himself; for he having no regard for himself, gave up himself wholly to this service."[7] There is only one rule to guide men in their actions and relationships to others in this social order; this is the rule of love. "The main truth in the passage [1 Cor. 13:3] is this--that as love is the only rule of our actions, and the only means of regulating the right use of the gifts of God, nothing, in the absence of it, is approved of by God, however magnificent it may be in the estimation of men."[8] Calvin sums it up succinctly in the following way: " . . . nothing

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[5] Ibid., V, 195-196. Lev. 19:18.

[6] Ibid., XXXIII, 62. Luke 10:30.

[7] Ibid., XXXVIII, 515. Romans 15:3.

[8] Ibid., XXXIX, 421. 1 Cor. 13:3.

else is required in the law and the prophets than that every man should love God and his neighbours; as if he had said, that the sum of holy and upright life consists in the worship of God and in charity to men, as Paul states that charity is the fulfilling of the law."[9] Man is to love his neighbor no less than himself.[10] It is impossible for the love of God to reign without producing brotherly kindness among men."[11] In other words, if Calvin taught that men could prove their election, which he did not do, it was not by works in a secular vocation, but by the evidence of love for one's neighbor, which is just the opposite from what Weber argued. The love that Calvin was talking about is not just an abstract ideal. This love does not neglect others,[12] and there are clear and unmistakable results in the life of man when love is the rule by which men conduct their relationships to one another. Love bridles and represses quarrels, according to Calvin, and where there is gentleness and forbearance people do not become angry and are not

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[9] Ibid., XXXIII, 63. Matt. 12:40.

[10] Ibid., V, 195. Lev. 19:18.

[11] Ibid., XXXIII, 59. Matt. 12:39.

[12] Ibid., XXXIX, 424. 1 Cor. 13:4. The positive aspects of this statement will be considered later.

easily stirred up to disputes.[13] Love will not cause a man to do evil against his neighbor in the social order.

> He [Paul] demonstrates by the effect, that under the word love are contained those things which are taught us in all the commandments; for he who is endued with true love will never entertain the thought of injuring others. What else does the whole law forbid but that we do no harm to our neighbour?[14]

In order to maintain a right relationship between individuals " . . . every man should speak truth with his neighbour. Lying is here put for every kind of deceit, hypocrisy or cunning; and truth for honest dealing."[15] Every kind of communication between individuals is to be sincere and this is enforced by the consideration that men are members one of another.[16] In a similar passage in the Old Testament Calvin states: "God here makes provision for every man's character and good name, lest any should be undeservedly weighed down by calumnies and false accusations."[17] Members of the social order are not only prohibited from defaming their neighbors but

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[13] Ibid., 1 Cor. 13:15.

[14] Ibid., XXXIII, 486. Romans 11:10.

[15] Ibid., XLI, 297. Eph. IV:25.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., V, 179. Ex. 20:16.

God has " . . . forbidden us to set our hearts on the property of others . . . or to seek for gain at another's loss and inconvenience."[18] Neither must one steal from his neighbor.

> This, then, is the rule of charity, that everyone's rights should be safely preserved, and that none should do to another what he would not have done to himself. It follows, therefore, that not only are those thieves who secretly steal the property of others, but those also who seek for gain from the loss of others, accumulate wealth by unlawful practices, and are more devoted to their private advantage than to equity.[19]

Neither should man defraud his neighbor.[20] "We must now pass on from the prohibitive to the affirmative precept: for it will not be enough for us to restrain our tongues from speaking evil, unless we are also kind and equitable towards our neighbours."[21] What Calvin has been saying in the preceding statements is that men should live meekly with and deal justly with their neighbors and abstain from all unjust social oppression.

Calvin realized that his thoughts were idealized and that the natural order of things as originally

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[18] Ibid., pp. 186-187. Ex. 20:17.

[19] Ibid., pp. 110-111. Deut. 5:19.

[20] Ibid., pp. 112-113. Lev. 19:13.

[21] Ibid., p. 180. Ex. 20:16.

established by God had been perverted and corrupted by sin. Because of this sin there were those people in a community that had "perverse hearts" and would not conform to the law of love; consequently, there is the need for a strong state. It was the duty of the king who is armed with the sword to restrain evil-doers. "Detraction, pride, and vices of every description, are justly offensive to all good men; but all men have not the power or right to cut off the proud or detractors, because they are not invested with public authority, and consequently have their hands bound."[22] Calvin illustrated these remarks by pointing out that as long as David lived merely in the rank of a private member of society, he never dared to attempt to exercise public authority that did not belong to him. "But after being placed on the royal throne, he received a sword from the hand of God, which he employed in punishing evil deeds."[23]

There are positive fruits that are yielded to the social order by a well-regulated government. The first is a peaceful life; for rulers are armed with the sword, in order to keep us in peace. If they did not curb the hardihood of wicked men, every place would be full of

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[22] Ibid., XI, 90-91. Ps. 101:5.

[23] Ibid.

robberies and murders. The true way of keeping peace, therefore, is, when everyone receives what is his own, and the violence of the more powerful is restrained.[24] There are also other fruits of government that accrue to society such as the preservation of godliness when magistrates promote religion and take care that sacred ordinances are observed with due reverence. The last fruit of good government is public decency. It was the business of the rulers, according to Calvin, to prevent men from abandoning themselves to what he calls brutal "filthiness or flagitious conduct." On the contrary, the rulers were to promote decency and moderation.[25] Calvin would not permit anyone to claim immunity from the common duty of obedience to secular authority.[26] The reason why men ought to be subject to magistrates is because they are established by God's decree. For since it pleased God thus to govern the world, he who endeavors to reverse the order of God, and thus to strive against God himself, despises his power; since to despise the providence of him who is the founder of civil authority is to carry on war with him.[27] The same views are

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[24] Ibid., XLIII, 51-52. I Tim. 2:2.

[25] Ibid., p. 52. I Tim. 2:2.

[26] Ibid., XXXIII, 478. Romans 13:1.

[27] Ibid., pp. 478-479. Romans 13:1.

expressed in a sermon on Titus--"For it is to resist God when one causes trouble or promotes resistance to lawful authority."[28]

Willingness to submit to higher authority or power is submissiveness to Christ, even if the people who possess that authority are not worthy of honor.[29] In spite of the unworthiness of rulers, individuals as members of the Church have a responsibility to them and should pray for the political authorities.

> Seeing that God appointed magistrates and princes for the preservation of mankind, however much they fall short of the divine appointment, still we must not on that account cease to love what belongs to God, and to desire that it may remain in force. That is the reason why believers, in whatever country they live, must not only obey the laws and the government of magistrates, but likewise in their prayers supplicate God for their salvation.[30]

Calvin here refers the reader to the command of Jeremiah for the Jews in Chaldea to be faithful to King Nebuchadnezzar and to his regime. They were to even seek the prosperity of the kingdom of their captors.

> But he [Jeremiah] was not satisfied with external efforts, but he would have them to pray to God, that

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[28] Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, Eduardus Reuss (59 vols.; Brunschwick, 1863-1900), LIV, column 558. Hereafter recited as Opera, followed by volume and column.

[29] Ibid., cols. 558-559.

[30] Works of Calvin, XLIII, 51. I Tim. 2:2.

> all things might turn out prosperously and happily to the Babylonian king, even to the end of their exile. . . . We hence learn that he exhorted the exiles to bear the yoke of the king of Babylon, during the time allotted to the captivity, for to attempt anything rashly was to fight against God, and that he thus far commanded them quietly to bear that tyrannical government.[31]

It has been seen that Calvin felt that the authority of the secular ruler was necessary for the well-being of society. He urged the people to respect that authority as from God. Calvin even felt that kings should advance the cause of religion and support the Church.[32] However, man must not only be governed by secular laws, but by the law of love as established by God. If there is a conflict between these two, the individual must abide by the law of love. This is well illustrated in the following quotation:

> In the treatment of their slaves, the laws granted to masters a vast amount of power. Whatever had thus been sanctioned by the civil code was regarded by many as in itself lawful. To such an extent did their cruelty in some instances proceed, that the Roman emperors were forced to restrain their tyranny. But though no royal edicts had ever been issued for the protection of slaves, God allows to masters no power over them beyond what is consistent with the law of love.[33]

Calvin maintained that philosophers and Christians in

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[31] Ibid., XIX, 421. Jer. 29:7.

[32] Ibid., XVI, 39-43. Is. 49:23.

[33] Ibid., XLI, 331. Eph. 6:9.

considering the principles of equity with respect to slaves have two different standards by which they judge. The former never look beyond the utility of slaves, while the Christian decides on the basis of what is lawful according to the Divine appointment. Love, Calvin contended, is the only true standard in judging between men.[34]

The corrupted natural order of society and corrupt nature of men were not just to be held in check by a strong state, but they were to be reformed or re-created as a result of Christ's death upon the cross. Thus, a common bond was to exist among men in the person of Christ. Christ is the model after which men are to pattern their lives.[35] The re-created brethren were to be bound together in Christ as a part of his Church. Christ is the head of the Church[36] and Christians are members of his body.[37] It is the Church " . . . into whose bosom God is pleased to collect his children, not only that by her aid and ministry they may be nourished so long as they are babes and children, but may also

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[34]Ibid., p. 332. Eph. 6:9.

[35]Institutes, III, vi, 3.

[36]Works of Calvin, LXI, 318. Eph. 5:23.

[37]Ibid., p. 323. Eph. 5:30.

be guided by her maternal care until they grow up to manhood, and finally, attain to the perfection of faith."[38] All Christians are joined together in Christ and as they depend on one head, " . . . so they are as it were compacted into one body, being knit together like its different members, made truly one by living together under the same Spirit of God in one faith, hope, and charity, called not only to the same inheritance of eternal life, but to participation in one God and Christ."[39] This means that all Christians are fellow laborers with God,[40] and they " . . . are under obligation to others, and that it is therefore our duty to please and to serve them, and that there is no exception in which we ought not to accommodate ourselves to our brethren when we can do so, according to God's word, to their edification."[41] As sheep of the same flock everyone must maintain brotherly concord with the children of God and give due authority to the Church. Thus, Calvin arrived at what he called the "communion of the saints."[42] Just as the saints are united

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[38] Institutes, IV, i, 1.

[39] Ibid., sec. 2.

[40] Works of Calvin, XXXIX, 131. I Cor. 3:9.

[41] Ibid., XXXVIII, 514. Romans 15:2.

[42] Institutes, IV, i, 3.

in the fellowship of Christ, so must all the blessings which God bestows upon them be mutually communicated to each other.[43]

Within the Christian community, then, there was to be no room for worldly advantage for one at the expense of someone else. Calvin paraphrased James 2:1 in the following way: "He sins who honours the rich alone and despises the poor, and treats him with contempt."[44] This does not mean that honor is not due those who are elevated in the world, but " . . . this should not be done in a way so as to despise or reproach the poor."[45] After this qualification Calvin continued as follows:

> . . . respect of persons is inconsistent with the faith of Christ, so that they cannot be united together, and rightly so; for we are by faith united into one body, in which Christ holds the primacy. When therefore the pomps of the world become pre-eminent so as to cover over what Christ is, it is evident that faith hath but little vigour.[46]

There is no difference between the rich and the poor, between the high and the low in the sight of God.

> Behold, how a lowly brother ought to glory in his elevation or exaltation; for if he be accepted of

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Works of Calvin, XLV, 301. Jas. 2:1.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

> God, he has sufficient consolation in his adoption alone, so as not to grieve unduly for a less prosperous state of life. "But the rich, in that he is made low," or in his lowness. . . . This admonition pertains to all those who excel in honour, or in dignity, or in any other external thing. He bids them to glory in their lowness or littleness, in order to repress the haughtiness of those who are usually inflated with prosperity.[47]

This lowness ought to lead men to place little value on earthly things. "For Christ, who is not a teacher except of babes, checks by his doctrine all the haughtiness of the flesh. Lest, then, the vain joy of the world should captivate the rich, they ought to habituate themselves to glory in the casting down of their carnal excellency."[48] Thus, God is interested in all of the human race, and there is no respect of persons with Him. God will take vengeance on the unjust who cruelly oppress those who are under them socially and economically.[49] It is evident from the many preceding statements taken from Calvin's works that he saw clearly the need to work for the welfare of all members of society. It is also evident that the need for social service as a part of the

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[47] Ibid., pp. 285-286. Jas. 1:9,10.

[48] Ibid., p. 286. Jas. 1:10.

[49] Ibid., XLII, 221. Col. 3:25. The same point is commented upon in Ibid., XXXVIII, 94. God is no respecter of persons and " . . . he hath no respect for those things which are want to be highly valued by men, such as kindred, country, dignity, wealth, and similar things."

Christian life, as Calvin saw it, sprang from a warm and sympathetic heart and bore not the cold and impersonal character of the Calvinists as described by Max Weber.[50]

Having considered the social structure and the general attitude or spirit of the Christian life within this framework, it is now necessary to turn the focus of this paper to the economic ideas of John Calvin and see if the same spirit of concern for the well-being of all of society can be detected there.

B. Economic Views Of John Calvin: Usury

Henri Hauser has rightly stated that "When one speaks of the influence that Calvin was able to exercise on the evolution of the thought and practice of economics in modern times, one thinks first of the central problem: that of usury, or the taking of interest on loans."[51]

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[50]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 108-109. Weber maintained that the Calvinistic faith taught that the world exists only for the purpose of glorifying God. The elect are in the world only to increase this glory of God by fulfilling His commandments to the best of their ability. Brotherly love can be practiced only for the glory of God and not in the service of the flesh. Consequently, the Calvinists developed an objective and impersonal attitude toward the needs of society as a whole. There was no real love and concern for one's fellow man, only cold, impersonal social service to promote the glory of God.

[51]Henri Hauser, "L' Economie Calvinienne," Société de l' histoire du Protestantisme fran cais, LXXXIV (1935), p. 228. Hereafter cited as Hauser, "L'Economie Calvinienne."

Consequently, we shall take our cue from his remarks and begin the study of Calvin's economic ideas with this problem. Before turning to Calvin's own teachings on the subject, it would be of considerable value to sketch briefly the historical development of the perplexing question of usury as it relates to the teachings of the early Church Fathers.

The subject of usury has been a controversial one throughout the history of the Church. There were few subjects that claimed so generally the attention of the synods during the medieval period as that of usury.[52]

It can be found in the New Testament that Jesus makes some comments with respect to borrowing and lending. "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." (Mt. 5:42) "And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again." (Luke 6:34) There are, however, no direct commandments concerning usury. The great example set by His life, perhaps more than His words, would suggest a more definite attitude towards the goods of this world.

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[52]Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (7 vols.; New York, Charles Scribners Sons: Reproduced by special arrangements with the original publisher, 1907), V, 449-450.

The early Church Fathers severely disapproved of the practice of usury. It is possible that they could have been influenced in some cases by the classical moralists, but the standard that was set by them was determined by the laws of the Old Testament and the general principles set forth in the teachings of the New Testament--to a great extent an interpretation of, "But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; . . ."--Luke 6:35.[53]

At first the Church was antagonistic toward the practice of usury. This antagonism finally hardened into prohibition over a period of time. When she first began to pass legislation on the question, it was only with regard to the clerics.[54]

In the seventeenth Canon of the First Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, the clerics are forbidden to take usury in any form. The council declared:

> Since many clerics, led by avarice and a spirit of usury, have forgotten the divine word: "he hath not put his money to usury,"[55] and demand as veritable usurers a rate of one per cent interest per month, this holy and great council decides that if anyone after the publication of this ordinance takes interest in

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[53] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (12 vols.; New York, 1917-1922), XII, 550. Hereafter cites as Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

[54] Ibid., p. 551.

[55] Ps. 14:5.

> any way, or engages in the business of usury in any manner, or demands back one and a half times as much, or otherwise devises a scheme of dishonest profit, he shall be ejected from the clerical state and his name stricken from the register.[56]

Even before the Council of Nicaea usury had been condemned in Canon 20 of the Synod of Elvira (305-306) and in Canon 12 of that of Arles (314).[57]

By 345 we find that the Council of Carthage declared usury not only reprehensible for the clerics but also for the laymen. This view is repeated in 789 by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle and by the ninth century, ecclesiastical law definitely extended the prohibition to the laity as well as the clerics.[58]

It is evident that usury continued to be a problem to the Church in the twelfth century. The Second Lateran Council in 1139 issued a proclamation in Canon 13 that usurers were to " . . . be stigmatized with the mark of infamy, and unless they repent let them be deprived of Christian burial."[59]

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[56] Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, trans. Rev. H. J. Schroeder (St. Louise, 1937), pp. 47-48. Hereafter cited as Schroeder, Decrees of the Councils.

[57] Ibid., p. 48.

[58] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, 551.

[59] Schroeder, Decrees of the Councils, p. 204.

Legislation increased as the practice of usury continued to grow. All of the fortifications of the Church were strengthened to put down this sinful practice. Thus the Third Lateran Council in 1179 stated:

> . . . we decree that notorious usurers be not admitted to the communion of the Altar, and if they die in that sin, that they shall not receive Christian burial. Neither shall anyone accept their offering. He who has taken such an offering or given them Christian burial, shall be compelled to return what he has taken, and, until he has satisfied the wishes of the bishop, let him remain suspended from his office.[60]

The 26th Cannon of the Second Council of Lyon, 1274, went so far as to say that,

> Associations and individuals are forbidden to permit strangers to practice usury within the limits of their territory; . . . Nor shall anyone under whatever title lease them houses for this purpose under penalty of suspension, excommunication, and interdict.[61]

The spiritual penalties are made more forceful by the civil pronouncement in Canon 27 of the same Council. It stated that, "No one may serve as a witness to testaments of notorious usurers, and . . . Testaments of notorious usurers . . . are null and void."[62]

Finally the Council of Vienne in 1311-12 brought the matter to a head when it stated: "We, therefore,

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[60] Ibid., p. 233.

[61] Ibid., p. 355.

[62] Ibid., p. 401.

wishing to put an end to these pernicious practices, . . . decree that all civil officials of these communities, be they rulers, judges, lawyers, or any others, who in the future make, write, or dictate statutes of this kind or knowingly decide that usury may be paid or in case of having been paid may not be freely and fully restored when its return is demanded, incur the sentence of excommunication."[63]

So it is that the Church finally placed its power over the civil authorities with relation to usury.

The growing stringency during the Middle Ages against usury was an indication that it was difficult to check its advance. The concessions made in favor of the Jews by the 4th Lateran Council, 1215, in that it forbade only grave and excessive usury was a gap in the Church fortifications. By the eleventh century the rise of towns and markets gave commerce a new life. The Church itself was in need of large sums of money at various times for the Crusades and new buildings. The older view that trade and commerce were evil gave way to new economic theories which would then be directed by Christian principles. This task fell to the Schoolmen, most important among whom stands the person of Thomas Aquinas.

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[63] Ibid., p. 401.

As he began to formulate his system of ideas, he made certain concessions, and once that was done the freedom taken by men since then over the centuries nearly by-passes the teachings of the Church in many instances relating to the laws concerning usury. This was true as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although usury was prohibited by the Church, it was practiced by a series of evasions that are dealt with at some length by James W. Thompson in his book entitled Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages.[64]

The scholastics based their ideas on the Old and New Testaments and the works of Aristotle.[65]

"Now money, according to the Philosopher (Ethic. V. 5; Polit. i.3) was invented chiefly for the purpose of exchange: . . . it is by its very nature unlawful to take payment for the use of money lent, which payment is known as usury: . . ."[66]

It was the decision of the canonists that a loan of money did not in itself justify a charge for its use.

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[64](New York, 1931), pp. 439-440.

[65]Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, 551.

[66]St. Thomas Aquinas, The Summa Theologica, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (21 Vols.; London, 1929), X, 331.

However, when the opportunity for investing money was limited, it would probably be a gain to the lender if he could find a man who was willing to accept the responsibility of the money, if it was returned intact. The canonists were willing to face the facts of making allowance for special cases. Soon the custom developed of admitting compensation on various extrinsic grounds.[67] The old position of the Church regarding usury was modified by some of its leaders to meet the demands of the growing commercial centers. Benjamen Nelson in his book The Idea of Usury put it so strongly as to say: "In fifteenth century Italy, economic expediencies completely overshadowed moral philosophy as a force in the propagation of Christian universalism."[68] It would appear that this statement would have to be modified with regard to the word "completely" if one is to consider the whole of Europe and even Italy itself. The point is that in spite of the Church's demand for the just price and its prohibition against usury, the economic life of Europe had strayed far from the Medieval ideal and much that smacked of modern economic philosophy and practices were evident

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[67] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, 551.

[68] Benjamen N. Nelson, The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood (Princeton, 1949), p. 19. Hereafter cited as Nelson, The Idea of Usury.

in the trading centers of the West. The impetus for modern economic ideas and practices did not have to wait for John Calvin.

To what extent some leaders of the Church sanctioned the traffic in usury can be seen by the fact that in 1515, Pope Leo X gave his official pronouncement in favor of the legitimacy of the interest clause in the monti di pieta. This had been a bitter controversy between Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian theologians over the legality of establishing pawnshops by Christians with licenses to take from twenty to fifty per cent in loans. It was also about this time that John Eck of Ingolstadt was on his way to the University of Bologna on behalf of the Fuggers to attempt to prove that the five per cent triple contract was legal.[69] Roy Pascal stated that there was " . . . evidence that Canon law was modifying itself to embrace the new conditions created by the presence of money in large quantities."[70] Thus, by the beginning of the Reformation usury began to assert itself openly as an economic principle. It had been condemned by Canon law, but partly through the agency of the

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[69]Nelson, The Idea of Usury, pp. 19-25.

[70]Roy Pascal, The Social Basis of the German Reformation (London, 1933), p. 181.

Church it had first been accepted in Italy and then in Europe in general. The practice of usury became such a large scale operation that those interested could find it more profitable to ignore the statement of the Church that money in itself was not capable of producing and that by its very nature was incapable of bearing fruit.[71]

As others in society, such as Luther, had been forced to define their position with relation to the subject, John Calvin was called upon to express his opinions toward usury also, but he did it reluctantly.

The heart of Calvin's thought with respect to usury is found in five works. These are: A letter sent to Claude de Sachins in 1545; Commentaries on Deuteronomy (1556), Psalm XV (1557), Ezekiel (1563); and Harmony of the Pentateuch (Exodus 22, 1563). The letter to Claude de Sachins will be considered first because it was written the earliest, and because it has been loudly acclaimed as "a turning point in the economic development of Europe."[72] The other works will then be examined as expressions of his more mature thought.

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Hauser, "L'économie calvinienne," p. 229. Hauser has also reserved an entire chapter to the economic ideas of Calvin in his book entitled Les débuts de capitalisme (Paris, 1927), pp. 43-79.

The letter was written in reply to his friend, Claude de Sachins, who had sought the information for someone else.[73] The cautious attitude of Calvin toward the problem can be seen from his opening remark:

> I have not yet had experience myself, but I have learned by the example of others how perilous it is to give an answer to the question on which you ask my advice. For if we totally prohibit usury, we impose tighter restrictions on the conscience than God himself. If we permit it in the least, many people will take liberty which then can not be limited in any manner. If I were writing only to you, I would not be afraid of such a thing, for your prudence and restraint are well known: but since you ask advice for another, I fear that he will read into my words more than I desire. However, since I have no doubt that according to the nature of the man and the circumstances you will act with discretion, I will tell you how the matter appears to me.[74]

"In the first place," Calvin asserted, "there is no testimony in the Scriptures in which all usury is completely condemned."[75] He pointed out that the statement by Christ in Luke VI:35 ("Lend hoping for nothing again") had been wrongly interpreted. Christ meant that the poor were to be helped and protected, but one does not read in Luke that usury was completely forbidden. The

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[73]The letter is entitled De Usuris and fills nearly two and one half pages in the Opera, X, 245-249. Georgia Harkness, John Calvin, pp. 204-206, has translated much of the letter and this has been consulted also.

[74]Opera, X, 245.

[75]Ibid.

law of Moses in Deuteronomy 23:19 was political, and we should not be constrained by it beyond what just and human reason will bear. It certainly could be desired that usury, and even the name, were all banished from the entire world. But since that is impossible, it is necessary to concede to common utility.[76] "We have passages in the Prophets and Psalms in which the Holy Spirit uttered severe denunciations against usury."[77] Tyranny and cruelty are associated with usury. The prophet Ezekial listed the crimes against which the anger of God was provoked, and among these was usury.[78]

> The reasoning of Saint Ambrose and of Chrysostom, that money does not beget money, is too superficial in my judgment. What does the sea beget? What does the land beget? I receive money from the renting of a house. Is it because the money grows there? The fields produce things from which money is made. The convenience also of houses is bought for money. And why is this? Is it not because money is more fruitful in trade than in any other form of possession that one is able to mention.[79]

The question is then posed as to how the merchants increase their wealth or make profits. The answer is by their industry. Calvin points out that money closed up in a box will be sterile. People, however, do not seek

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[76] Ibid., pp. 245-246.

[77] Ibid., p. 246.

[78] Ibid., pp. 246-247.

[79] Ibid., p. 247.

loans in order to put them in a box, but to make a profit. The profit is not of the money, but in the revenue that is gained from its use. Calvin concluded, therefore, that the contentions of early writers were not established on a solid foundation.[80] "I conclude that it is necessary to judge usury, not according to any particular passage from God's Word, but solely according to the rule of equity."[81]

After citing an example as to how one could borrow money and pay legitimate interest, Calvin turned his attention to a number of reservations with regard to usury. One must not take usury from the poor. The second exception is that the individual must not be so intensely interested in gain as to neglect the necessary offices, nor should he scorn his poor brothers. Transactions should be carried out only within the moral restraint of equity. These should be considered according to the rules established by Christ. The fourth reservation was that the one who borrows must make as much or more gain from the money borrowed. Fifthly, the Word of God must provide the rules for making decisions in life. Usury must not be considered a private affair, but the public

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., pp. 247-248.

welfare must be considered. Finally, one must not exceed the limits that the public laws of a region permit.[82] It is certainly true that Calvin did not condemn all usury, but he hedged it about with so many restrictions that there was no room for the development of an economic spirit such as Weber described. Then, too, as Albert Hyma states:

> It seems remarkable that such keen thinkers as Max Weber and E. Troeltsch. . . did not have the sagacity to see that Calvin's arguments resembled Luther's opinions in almost every word. Twenty-one years before Calvin penned this letter on usury, Luther had explained at great length that it was just and fair, and also in keeping with the spirit of Christ, that a person paid interest on loans when security was given.[83]

That Martin Luther's views on usury were similar to Calvin's is evident from a conversation that he had on June 14, 1542 with Mr. James Probst who was pastor in Bremen. This conversation, a part of Luther's "Table Talk," is reproduced for us by Anthony Lauterback. Luther states:

> We are willing to allow five or six per cent interest, provided that there is security and that the agreement is kept whereby the capital is not be be recalled

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[82] Ibid., pp. 248-249.

[83] Albert Hyma, Christianity, Capitalism and Communism: A Historical Analysis (Ann Arbor, 1937), p. 78. Hereafter cited as Hyma, Capitalism.

> by the lender--. . . And so we allow six per cent interest because the cost of goods has risen and this amount may be necessary.[84]

In speaking about usury and trade, Luther goes on to say that, "We do not oppose those who engage in trade so long as they come to just agreements among themselves without greed and fraud."[85] On June 18, 1524 Luther summarized his views on the question of taking interest in a letter to Duke John Frederic of Saxony. He felt that the matter of interest taking should be regulated everywhere. To do away with it altogether, however, would not be right, " . . . for it can be just."[86] He did not think that Duke John Frederic should protect people who refused to pay the interest or to stop them from paying it, for it was not a burden laid upon the people by the law of the land, but it was a common plague that all men had taken upon themselves.[87] "We must put up with it, . . . until God puts it into the hearts of the princes to agree to some change. In the meanwhile, let

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[84] Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel, ed. and trans. T. G. Tappert, The Library of Christian Classics (26 vols.; Philadelphia, 1955), XVIII, 254.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs (eds. and trans.), Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1913-1918), II, 237.

[87] Ibid.

the burden rest on the consciences of those who take unjust interest."[88] In this early period an unjust rate of interest was anything over five per cent, whereas, it has been noted above that later Luther permitted six per cent because of rising costs. This was a higher rate than Calvin permitted.[89] Hyma succinctly summarizes the similarities of Luther's and Calvin's views on usury in this statement:

> The following points of agreement may be noted between Luther's views in the years 1520, 1524, and 1525, and Calvin's opinion as expressed in the letter on usury, dated 1545. First, the Mosaic law and all other passages in the Old Testament are intended for the Jews, and not necessarily for the gentiles. Secondly, no statement to be found anywhere in the Bible can be construed as condemning every form of lending money on interest. Thirdly, a Christian (for Luther and Calvin have only Christians in mind) is to be subject to the laws and regulations of the country or city in which he is residing. Fourthly, no matter what those laws say, it is prohibited to charge interest of a poor person. Fifthly, one must constantly bear in mind the injunction of Christ, not to do unto others what one does not want done to himself. Sixthly, the proper rate of interest is five per cent, but in special cases it is permissible to charge up to eight per cent. Seventhly, the ideal way is to loan money on security, in the form of real estate. Eighthly, Aristotle's dictum, "Money is sterile," is to be interpreted to mean that money buried in a box is indeed sterile, and nobody would be so foolish as to pay interest on such money. Ninthly, it were

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[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

> well if all manner of usury were abolished from the face of the earth, for the name usury has rightly earned for itself a very bad reputation. However, the word interest, newly introduced, describes a practice which has been generally accepted since the first half of the fifteenth century. Consequently, the Christian will do well to abide by this well-established custom. Tenthly, the desire for personal gain must always remain subordinate to that Christian spirit of brotherly love which seeks to aid the poor and the outcasts, for they are to receive all the property and profit which exceed one's moderate needs.[90]

After studying both Luther's and Calvin's economic and social views, it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that either Luther was not as retarded in his ideas as he is often considered to have been or that Calvin was not as advanced as some have contended. In the mind of this author it is not a matter of being either retarded or advanced, but rather the fact that both men were very close in their ideals and were attempting to arrive at practical solutions to problems of the Christian community within the bounds of the moral values of the Bible. There is no place for a secular attitude, such as was described by Weber, in the thought of either man, and if they departed from the letter of the law as it was traditionally and theoretically upheld by the Church, it must be kept in mind that much of Europe

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[90]Hyma, Capitalism, pp. 79-80. See Luther's major works on usury in Works of Martin Luther, ed. Henry E. Jacobs, trans. J. J. Schindel, A. T. W. Steinhaeuser, et al. (6 vols.; Philadephipa, 1951), IV, 12-69.

had been straying from the official pronouncements of the Church with regard to economic matters as early as the fourteenth century, if not earlier. The immediate cause of the Reformation or the incident (controversy of indulgences) that prompted Luther to write the Ninety-five Theses is an excellent example of how far even the Church had departed from its own teaching. When Albert of Bradenburg sought the money to pay for his appointment, he turned to the Fuggers, who were to receive a percentage of the indulgences collected in return for the loan to Albert. The point being that Calvin's pronouncements on usury were not as new and revolutionary as some would have the world believe.

The letter to Claude de Sachins was the bud containing the seeds of Calvin's mature thoughts on the question of usury, which are more fully developed in his commentaries. Because the above letter contains the germ of Calvin's ideas on usury, an attempt will be made to extract only the essence of his thought from the four remaining works.

In commenting upon Ex. 22:25, Lev. 25:35-38, and Deut. 23:19-20, as a whole, Calvin states:

> From these passages we learn that it is not enough to refrain from taking the goods of another, unless we also constantly exercise humanity and mercy in the relief of the poor. Heathen authors also saw this, although not with sufficient clearness, (when

> they declared) that, since all men are born for the sake of each other, human society is not properly maintained, except by an interchange of good offices.[91]

Here is seen the same concern for all men in society that was emphasized earlier. Calvin continues: "Wherefore, that we may not defraud our neighbours, and so be accounted thieves in God's sight, let us learn, according to our several means, to be kind to those who need our help; for liberality is a part of righteousness, so that he must be deservedly held to be unrighteous who does not relieve the necessities of his brethren when he can."[92]

In treating Deut. 23:19-20, Calvin observed that the Israelites were permitted to lawfully lend at interest to the gentiles but not to their brethren; however, this distinction the spiritual law does not admit. Calvin also perceived that the wall of partition which formerly separated Jew and gentile is now broken down in that men are reconciled to God in Christ. Consequently, we must spare all without exception, both as regards taking interest, and any other mode of extortion; and equity is to be observed towards strangers.[93] "'The household of faith,' indeed, holds the first rank, since Paul commands us

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[91] Works of Calvin, V, 126. Harmony of Pentateuch.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid., p. 128. Harmony of Pentateuch.

specially to do good to them, (Gal. vi. 10;) still the common society of the human race demands that we should not seek to grow rich by the loss of others."[94]

In discussing the eighth commandment, Calvin considered Exodus 22:25: "Humanity ought to be very greatly regarded in the matter of loans, especially when a person, being reduced to extremities, implores a rich man's compassion; for this is, in point of fact, the genuine trial of our charity, when, in accordance with Christ's precept, we lend to those of whom we expect no return."[95]

Calvin took up the problem of whether usury is evil in itself. He wrote thus:

> . . . and surely that which heathen even have detested appears to be by no means lawful to the children of God. . . . But if we come to an accurate decision as to the thing itself, our determination must be derived from nowhere else than the universal rule of justice, and especially from the declaration of Christ, on which hang the law and the prophets,--Do not unto others what ye would not have done to thyself.[96]

Later he stated:

> I have, then, admonished men that the fact itself is simply to be considered, that all unjust gains

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., p. 126. Harmony of Pentateuch.

[96] Ibid., p. 129. Harmony of Pentateuch.

> are ever displeasing to God. . . . But if we would form an equitable judgment, reason does not suffer us to admit that all usury is to be condemned without exception.[97]

Calvin supplied several examples to illustrate his statement and continued by saying, "Many such cases daily occur in which, as far as equity is concerned, usury is no worse than purchase."[98] The subtle argument of Aristotle, that usury is unnatural because money is barren and does not beget money, is unacceptable;

> . . . for such a cheat as I have spoken of, might make much profit by trading with another man's money, and the purchaser of the farm might in the meantime reap and gather his vintage. But those who think differently, may object, that we must abide by God's judgment, when He generally prohibits all usury to His people. I reply, that the question is only as to the poor, and consequently, if we have to do with the rich, that usury is freely permitted.[99]

If there are those who feel that usurers were absolutely condemned by King David and the prophet Ezekiel, "I think that their declarations ought to be judged of by the rule of charity; and therefore that only those unjust exactions are condemned whereby the creditor, losing sight of equity, burdens and oppresses his debtor."[100] Calvin argued,

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[97] Ibid., p. 131. Harmony of Pentateuch.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., pp. 131-132. Harmony of Pentateuch.

however, that he would be unwilling to take usury under his patronage, and he wished the name itself were banished from the world, but he felt that he could not dare to pronounce upon so important a point more than God's word conveyed. The ancients, it is true, were forbidden to traffic in usury, but this was a part of their political constitution.[101] "Hence it follows, that usury is not now unlawful, except in so far as it contravenes equity and brotherly union. Let each one, then, place himself before God's judgment-seat, and not do to his neighbour what he would not have done to himself."[102]

In his discussions of usury in the books of Moses, Calvin referred at different times to the advice given by David and the prophet Ezekial, from whom we shall now quote some key passages. In his commentary on Psalm 15:5 Calvin made this observation:

> In this verse David enjoins the godly neither to oppress their neighbours by usury, nor to suffer themselves to be corrupted with bribes to favour unrighteous causes. With respect to the first clause, as David seems to condemn all kinds of usury

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[101] Ibid., p. 132. Harmony of Pentateuch.

[102] Ibid.

> in general, and without exception, the very name has been everywhere held in detestation.[103]

Wicked men, however, have invented various names under which they conceal the vice; thereby they lent on usury openly and with great excess. However, God will not permit such sophistry and false pretences to continue because he looks upon things as they really are. There is no worse kind of usury than an unjust way of making bargains where fair dealing is disregarded on both sides.[104] "Let us then remember that all bargains in which the one partly unrighteously strives to make gain by the loss of the other party, whatever name may be given to them, are here condemned."[105]

The question is posed as to whether all kinds of usury are to be denounced and regarded as unlawful. Calvin contended:

> If we condemn all without distinction, there is a danger lest many, seeing themselves brought into such a strait, as to find that sin must be incurred, in whatever way they can turn themselves, may be rendered bolder by despair, and may rush headlong into all kinds of usury, without choice or discrimination. On the other hand, whenever we concede

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[103] Ibid., VIII, 212. Ps. 15:5.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

> that something, may be lawfully done this way, many will give themselves loose reins, thinking that a liberty to exercise usury, without control or moderation, has been granted them.[106]

Because of the difficult problem, Calvin counseled his readers to beware of deceitful pretexts by which individuals take advantage of their fellow-men, and they were not to imagine that anything was lawful to them which is grievous and hurtful to others.[107]

"With respect to usury, it is scarcely possible to find in the world a usurer who is not at the same time an extortioner, and addicted to unlawful and dishonourable gain."[108] To emphasize his statement, Calvin directed the reader's attention to how Cato justly placed the practice of usury and murder in the same rank of criminality, for the goal of both is to take the blood of other men.[109]

> It is also a very strange and shameful thing, that, while all other men obtain the means of their subsistence with much toil, while husbandmen fatigue themselves by their daily occupations, and artisans serve the community by the sweat of their brow, and merchants not only employ themselves in labours, but

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid., p. 213. Ps. 15:5.

> also expose themselves to many inconveniences and dangers,--that money-mongers should sit at their ease without doing anything, and receive tribute from the labour of all other people.[110]

To make things even worse it is not the rich who are stripped of their wealth by this usury, but the poor man, who ought rather to be relieved. This is the reason why God has framed the law against usury, in order that men should not cruelly oppress the poor, who ought rather to receive sympathy and compassion.[111] Indeed, this was a part of the Law of Moses which God gave to the Jews in particular; but it is also a common principle of justice which extends to all nations and to all ages, that men should keep themselves from plundering and devouring the poor who are in distress and want.[112] "Whence it follows, that the gain which he who lends his money upon interest acquires, without doing injury to anyone, is not to be included under the head of unlawful usury."[113]

Again in Ezekiel, Calvin carefully weighed the question as to whether usury in itself was a crime, since God had formerly permitted his people to take interest of

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[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid., pp. 213-214. Ps. 15:5.

[113] Ibid., p. 214.

strangers, and only forbade it among themselves. Calvin stated that there was a good reason for the law. The gentiles could take interest of the Jews, and unless they had the same right the condition of God's people would have been worse than that of the gentiles. God, therefore, permitted his people to take interest of strangers.[114] It would seem that according to Ezekiel and David (Ps. 15) that usury in itself is unlawful.

> But because God's law embraces complete and perfect justice, hence we must hold that interest, unless it is opposed to God's law, is not altogether to be condemned, otherwise ignominy would clearly attach to the law of God if it did not prescribe to us a true and complete rule of living justly. But in the law there is that perfection to which nothing can be added. If then we wish to determine whether interest is unlawful we must come to the rule of the law, which cannot deceive us: but we shall not find all interest contrary to the law, and hence it follows that interest is not always to be condemned.[115]

As in the Commentary on the Psalms, Calvin stresses the idea that one must regard the subject rather than just the word because men trifle by their cavillings, but God does not admit of such fallacies.

> Hence, as I said, the substance ought to be weighed, because the words alone will not enable us to decide whether interest be sometimes lawful or not. For example, among the Latins the word for interest is honourable in itself and has no disgrace attached to

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[114] Ibid., XXIII, 225-226. Ez. 18:5-9.

[115] Ibid., p. 226. Ez. 18:5-9.

> it, but that for usury is odious. What causes disgrace to be hidden under it? They fancied that they abhorred usurers, hence the general term interest contains within it all kinds of usury, and there was nothing so cruel, so unjust, and so barbarous, which was not covered by that pretense. Now since the name for interest was unknown to the French, that for usury became detestable: hence the French devised a new craftiness by which they could deceive God. For since no one could bear the name of usury, they used "interest" instead: but what does this mean but something which interests us, and thus it signifies all kinds of repayment for loans, for there was no kind of interest among the ancients which is not now comprehended in this word.[116]

Since Calvin stated that interest could not be totally and without exception condemned, he attempted to see how far it could be proved not to be counted a crime. "First of all, in a well-regulated state, no usurer is tolerated: even the profane see this: whoever therefore professedly adopts this occupation, he ought to be expelled from intercourse with his fellow-men."[117] According to Calvin, however, a person may receive interest without being a professed usurer.[118] "For example, a person may have capital and put out a part of it on loan, and thus receive interest; and if he does that once, he will not be called a usurer; so that we must consider when and

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[116] Ibid., pp. 226-227. Ez. 18:5-9.

[117] Ibid., p. 227. Ez. 18:5-9.

[118] Ibid.

from whom a person exacts interest."[119] He again contended that it is always wrong to take usury from a poor man.[120]

> If a man is rich, [however] and has money of his own, as the saying is, and has a very good estate and a large patrimony, and should borrow money of his neighbour, will that neighbour commit sin by receiving a profit from the loan of his money? Another borrower is the richer of the two, and might do without it and yet suffer no loss: but he wishes to buy a farm and enjoy its fruits: why should the creditor be deprived of his rights when his money brings profit to a neighbour richer than himself?[121]

Consequently, one may receive interest sometimes without being condemned because he is not acting contrary to God's law.[122]

> But we must always hold that the tendency of usury is to oppress one's brother, and hence it is to be wished that the very names of usury and interest were buried and blotted out from the memory of men. But since men cannot otherwise transact their business, we must always observe what is lawful, and how far it is so.[123]

It is important to note that Calvin was not just a theorist. He was not a man who said much about the need for equity in society but did nothing about it. On the

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid., p. 228. Ez. 18:5-9.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

contrary, he worked at the task of solving the problem of usury in Geneva from the time that he returned in 1541. The city of Geneva had a long history of trafficking in usury. As early as 1378 the Bishop of Geneva, Adhémar Fabri, authorized a city charter that not only enforced and confirmed articles favorable to usury but to professional money lenders as well.[124] Those sections of the city charter that protected usurers and their heirs were suppressed by Pope Felix V in 1444. However, there is evidence that usury itself was not done away with. In 1485 there are records that indicate the taking of interest on a loan at five per cent at various fairs. This was actually twenty per cent a year.[125] Furthermore, in 1538 the Council of Two Hundred in Geneva made note of the fact that poor people were obtaining money from usurers and were paying very heavy rates. Consequently, the Council ordered that all rates should be no higher than five per cent.[126] One of the earliest laws against usury, which was passed partially as a result of Calvin's influence came

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[124]Paul E. Martin, "Calvin et le prêt à intérêt à Genève," Mélanges d'histoire économique et sociale en hommage au professeur Antony Babel (2 vols.; Genève, 1963), I, 252. Hereafter cited as Martin, Antony Babel.

[125]Ibid., p. 254.

[126]Ibid.

in December of 1543. That law reduced interest to five per cent and prevented money lenders from taking interest in kind.[127] One of the strongest proclamations against usury, which Calvin greatly influenced, was made by the city government in 1544.[128] Other city ordinances followed. Thus, Calvin's interest in the well-being of all men in society was translated into practical deeds.

C. Wealth and Poverty

Before concluding the investigation of Calvin's economic views, it would be pertinent to consider for a mement what he thought about the following topics: riches and poverty as well as work and rewards for labor.

Calvin believed that riches came from God alone, but this is not to say that man received wealth because of any merit. "It is necessary to recognize this general rule, that riches come not to men because of their virtue, neither by their wisdom, nor by their labor, but only by the blessing of God."[129] The same thought is expressed in Calvin's sermon on Deut. 7:11-15. "When we are nourished by the bread of which we are sustained, it is necessary

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[127] Ibid., p. 256.

[128] Ibid., p. 257.

[129] Opera, XXVI, 627. Sermon on Deut. 8:14-20.

that we recognize that it comes to us from the pure bounty of our God."[130] In speaking about the ingratitude of the children of Israel, Calvin stated: "They had been abundantly instructed, that the abundance of all good things, and everything that supports men, flows from God's bounty. . . . They . . . had been taught by word and by facts that God alone is the giver of all things."[131]

Wealth is not acquired because of hard work or because of birth.

> Though it seems that some are enriched by their great vigilance, nevertheless it is God who blesses and cares for them. Though others are rich before they are born, and their fathers have acquired for them great possessions, nevertheless this is not just a case of good fortune, but the province of God rules over them.[132]

Calvin was too conscious of the uncertainty of riches to make them a sign of God's favor. This is evident from his comments on the book of Timothy.

> All that is in the world has the taste of its nature; so that it is fading, and quickly passes away. The uncertainty and vanity of the hope that is placed in riches are shewn by him [Paul] from this consideration, that the possession of them is so transitory

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[130] Ibid., p. 536. Sermon on Deut. 7:11-15.

[131] Works of Calvin, XXVI, 90. Hosea 2:8.

[132] Opera, XXVI, 627. Sermon on Deut. 8:14-20.

> that it is a thing unknown; for, while we think we hold them, they slip out of our hands in a moment. How foolish is it, therefore, to place our hope in them.[133]

Men are to be rich in good works and procure for themselves a better treasure than they have on earth. They are to lay up for themselves spiritual riches in heaven which are not exposed to the ravages of worms or thieves.[134] Riches are also perilous in that they cause men to forget God and hinder them in attaining heaven.

> For not without cause does he [God] admonish them [men] to beware lest they forget God, when they shall have been liberally and luxuriously treated by Him, but because he knew this to be a common vice, for abundance to beget arrogance; as afterwards he will say in his song, "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked; thou art waxen fat, and then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation."[135] Christ warns them, not only how dangerous and how deadly a plague avarice is, but also how great an obstacle is presented by riches. . . . It is true, indeed, that riches do not, in their own nature, hinder us from following God; but, in consequence of the depravity of the human mind, it is scarcely possible for those who have a great abundance to avoid being intoxicated by them. So they who are exceedingly rich are held by Satan bound, as it were, in chains, that they may not raise their thoughts to heaven.[136]

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[133] Works of Calvin, XLIII, 171. 1 Tim. 6:17.

[134] Ibid., p. 172. 1 Tim. 6:18-19.

[135] Ibid., III, 374. Deut. 6:10.

[136] Ibid., XXXII, 401. Matt. 19:23.

Calvin compared the rich to skaters on ice, who are constantly in danger of falling.[137] It is of interest to note how great is the similarity between Luther's attitude toward wealth and that of Calvin. Luther in his exposition on Deut. 6:10-12 even compares riches to walking on ice. In speaking about the dangers of prosperity he states: "Wenn dem Esel zu wohl ist, gehet er aufs Eis tanzen und bricht ein Bein. (When a mule feels too well, he goes dancing on the ice and breaks a leg.)"[138]

Although Calvin believed that material blessings came from God, he did not look upon poverty as an indication of God's disfavor.

> And certainly it is an error which is by far too common among men, to look upon those who are oppressed with afflictions as condemned and reprobate. As, on the one hand, the most of men, judging of the favour of God from an uncertain and transitory state of prosperity, applaud the rich, and those upon whom, as they say, fortune smiles; so, on the other hand, they act contemptuously towards the wretched and miserable, and foolishly imagine that God hates them, because he does not exercise so much forbearance towards them as he does toward the reprobate. The error of which we speak, namely, that of judging wrongly and wickedly, is one which has prevailed in all ages of the world.[139]

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[137] Opera, XXXIII, 37. Sermon on Job 2:2-5.

[138] What Luther Says: An Anthology, ed. E. M. Plass (3 vols.; Saint Louis, 1959), I, 1148.

[139] Works of Calvin, IX, 113. Ps. 31:1. Calvin has much to say about prosperity in the Institutes, III, vii, 9.

On the contrary God uses poverty as a means of trying the faithful by adversities. This is done to produce patience, to subdue the sinful affections of the flesh, to purify men, to humble them, and at other times to stir them up to the contemplation of the divine life.[140] God has also placed us in the world to prove our obedience. If His people have trials here on earth, they have a heritage that is prepared for them in heaven.[141] If men acquire possessions in gold and silver as well as other forms of wealth, in Calvin's mind this entailed tremendous personal responsibility toward others. It is man's duty to use his wealth for the good of his neighbors.[142] The rich are to use their property in helping others as magistrates or officers of God.[143]

Calvin realized, however, that the rich were not always willing to accept the ideals as set forth by the Gospel which was the standard for all Christians.

> Haughty and disdainful men, I do acknowledge, view the doctrine of the Gospel with contempt; but Luke expressly declares the reason why Christ was the object of their derision to have been that they were

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[140] Ibid.

[141] Opera, XLVI, 780. Sermon on the Harmony of the Gospels. Mk. 5:1-4 and Lk. 6:20-21.

[142] Ibid., LIII, 581. Sermon on Tim. 6:9-11.

[143] Ibid., XXVIII, 205. Sermon on Deut. 24:19-22.

> covetous. Entertaining a firm and deep-seated conviction that the rich are happy, and that there is nothing better for men than to increase their wealth by every possible method, and earnestly to guard whatever they have acquired, they reject as foolish paradoxes all the sayings of Christ which had a contrary tendency.[144]

If any one speaks of despising riches, as Christ admonished, or of giving alms to the poor, he is regarded by the covetous as a madman.[145] As men grow in wealth they forget all moderation, charity and justice. "They who abound in wealth seldom keep within the bounds of moderation, but abuse their abundance by extreme indulgence. There are indeed, some rich men, as I have said, who pine themselves in the midst of their abundance."[146] Calvin stated that another kind of inhumanity follows in that

> . . . the rich by their power oppressed and destroyed the poor and weak. He [James] says by a metaphor that the just were condemned and killed; for when they did not kill them by their own hands, or condemned them as judges, they corrupted judgments, and contrived various arts to destroy the innocent.[147]

Men are weak; consequently, the hope for economic unity in society comes when men are gathered together under the

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[144] Works of Calvin, XXXII, 182. Harmony of Evangelists Lk. 16:14.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid., XLV, 345. Js. 5:5.

[147] Ibid., p. 346. Js. 5:6.

name of Christ.[148] Then too, Calvin believed that the Church must seek the support of the state in protecting the weak.

Although Calvin enjoined the rich to minister to the needs of the poor, he did not establish a man-made formula for the distribution of wealth. The guide lines for such distribution came from God. God

> . . . charges us to help the necessities of our brethren, but he nowhere specifies the sum; that, after making a calculation, we might divide between ourselves and the poor. He nowhere binds us to circumstances of times, or persons, but calls us to take the rule of love as our guide.[149]

Although Calvin was opposed to the misuse of riches, and though he advocated providing for the needs of the poor, he was not a socialist or communist as some infer. He believed strongly that every man had a right to possess his own wealth and property.

> Those who assist their poor brethren "on the earth lay up for themselves treasures in heaven," according to the saying of Solomon, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord, and that which he hath given will he pay him again," (Prov. XIX.17). The command to sell possessions must not be literally interpreted, as if a Christian were not at liberty to retain anything for himself.[150]

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[148] Ibid., XXXVI, 194. Acts 5:1.

[149] Ibid., XL, 289-290. 2 Cor. 8:8.

[150] Ibid., XXXI, 332-333. Harmony of the Evangelists. Mt. 6:20.

Calvin's poignant attacks on certain communistic tendencies within the ranks of the Anabaptists and Spiritual Libertines were a clear indication of his belief in the right of the individual to hold private property. In lashing out against the Libertines he said:

> Now finally, to leave no order among men, they also make a similar confusion with regard to goods: saying that it is the communion of saints, that no one possess anything of his own, but that each takes whatever he can. At the beginning there were some silly Anabaptists who spoke in this fashion. But now that such an absurdity has been repudiated by all as repugnant to human sense, in such a way that the original authors are ashamed of it: these Libertines have taken refuge in it.[151]

Having attacked the avarice of those who call themselves Christians, Calvin, then stated:

> . . . let us recognize that it is a just vengeance of God that these fanatics come to overthrow all order, wanting to remove all distinctions of goods, making all the world as a forest of brigands, where without account or payment, everybody takes as his own whatever he is able to get. However, there are so many witnesses in Scripture to reprove this villainous confusion, that if they were all recited, there would be no end.[152]

Similar views are found in Calvin's commentaries as well as in the Institutes, as can be seen from the following examples. In writing about how the Christians in the book of Acts were joined together with brotherly love because

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[151] Opera, VII, 214. Contre La Secte Des Libertins.

[152] Ibid., p. 216. Contre La Secte Des Libertins.

the rich men sold their goods to help the poor, Calvin contended that

> . . . this is a singular example of love, and therefore doth Luke record the same, to the end we may know that we must relieve the poverty of our brethren with our plenty. But this place hath need of a sound exposition, because of fanatical spirits, which do feign a commonalty or participation together of goods, whereby all policy or civil government is taken away; as in this age the Anabaptists have raged, because they thought there was no Church unless all men's goods were put and gathered together, as it were, in one heap, that they might all one with another take thereof.[153]

In considering the advantage to men as a result of the communion of the saints, Calvin maintained that, "This, however, is not incompatible with a diversity of graces, for we know that the gifts of the Spirit are variously distributed; nor is it imcompatible with civil order, by which each is permitted privately to possess his own means, it being necessary for the preservation of peace among men that distinct rights of property should exist among them."[154]

Still there is a community of believers that are of one heart and one soul and have a common Father and a common head in Christ. This community is united together in brotherly love and mutually impart their blessings to

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[153] Works of Calvin, XXXVI, 130. Acts 2:44.

[154] Institutes, IV, i, 3.

each other.[155] Calvin, therefore, assailed any practices or individuals that threatened this unity, as in the case of monopoly and speculation. In Amos, the Prophet spoke of buying the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; and even selling the refuse of the wheat. Calvin commented thus:

> Here still he speaks of the avarice of the rich, who in time of scarcity held the poor subject to themselves and reduced them to slavery. . . . We indeed know what is the influence of poverty and pressing want, when men are oppressed with famine; they would rather a hundred times sell their life, then not to rescue themselves even by an invaluable price: for what else is food but the support of life?[156]

Men will place a higher value on their life than anything else.

> Hence the Prophet condemns this iniquity--that the rich gaped for such an opportunity. They saw that corn was high in price; "Now is the time for the poor to come into our possession; for we hold them as though they were ensnared; so then we can buy them for a pair of shoes."[157]

Other circumstances even increased this wrong in " . . . that they sold the refuse of the wheat; and when they reduced to bondage the poor, they did not feed them; they mingled filth and offscrourings with the wheat, as it is wont to be done; for we know that such robbers usually do this,

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[155] Ibid.

[156] Works of Calvin, XXVII, 367. Amos 8:6.

[157] Ibid.

when want presses upon the common people; they sell barley for wheat, and for barley they sell chaff and refuse."[158] Calvin realized that this type of wrong was not new or unusual.

As was indicated in the discussion on usury, Calvin was more than just a theorist and had a heartfelt, but practical concern for the entire Church which expressed itself in secular laws for the protection of individuals in the local community. This same kind of practical piety or concern for the well-being of all men expressed itself in the establishment of the diaconate. In considering the history of Church government, Calvin indicated that the case of deacons is no different down through the centuries than it had been under the Apostles.

> For they received the daily offerings of the faithful, and the annual revenues of the Church, that they might apply them to their true uses, in other words, partly in maintaining ministers, and partly in supporting the poor; . . . For, although the canons uniformly make the bishops the dispenser of all the goods of the Church, this is not to be understood as if he himself undertook that charge, but because it belonged to him to prescribe to the deacon who were to be admitted to the public alimony of the Church, and point out to what persons, and in what portions the residue was to be distributed, and because he was entitled to see whether the deacon faithfully performed his office.[159]

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[158] Ibid. A similar passage is found in Is. 5:8. Both passages sound very much like the so-called spirit of modern capitalism.

[159] Institutes, IV, iv, 5. Further information on the office of deacon may be found in IV, iii. 9.

D. Work and Wages

According to Weber, it was the virtue of industry, as stressed by Calvin that was a major factor in the growth of the spirit of capitalism.

Calvin accepted the Biblical command: "'Be not anxious about your life, what you shall eat and drink, nor for your body, what clothes you shall wear.'"[160] Calvin aruged that Christ reproved excessive anxiety with which men torment themselves about how they were to obtain food and clothing.[161] The assigned reason for the reproof is that

> The Lord, who has given life itself will not suffer us to want what is necessary for its support. And certainly we do no small dishonour to God, when we fail to trust that he will give us necessary food or clothing; as if he had thrown us on the earth at random. He who is fully convinced that the Author of our life has an intimate knowledge of our condition, will entertain no doubt that he will make abundant provision for our wants.[162]

This is not to say that men should not work, or be indolent, but there should be an intermediate place between careless laziness and extreme concern as to how one is to obtain a livelihood.[163] Calvin also quoted Psalm 127:2 with regard to men's anxious minds about the means of

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[160] Ibid., XXXI, 338. Harmony of the Evangelists. Mt. 6:25.

[161] Ibid., p. 339.

[162] Ibid., p. 340.

[163] Ibid., p. 339.

sustaining life. "'It is vain for you in hastening to rise early, to go late to rest, to eat the bread of sorrows: for thus will he give sleep to his beloved.'"[164] Calvin's comments on this verse are gems that Max Weber must have missed.

> Solomon now expresses more plainly that men in vain wear themselves out with toiling, and waste themselves by fasting to acquire riches, since these also are a benefit bestowed only by God. . . . Solomon . . . affirms that neither living at a small expense, nor diligence in business will by themselves profit anything at all. Not that he forbids us to practice temperance in our diet and to rise early to engage in our worldly business but to stir us up to prayer, and to calling upon God, and also to recommend gratitude for the divine blessings, . . .[165]

Thus, men are not forbidden to labor at a secular vocation, but it is of less importance than in working to please God.[166] Men are not to become so preoccupied with providing for the necessities of life or for riches that they forget or have no time for God. Calvin referred to the words of the prophet Amos against the children of Israel when they refused to refrain from working on the sabbath:

> As it was not lawful to carry on business either on the Sabbath or on the new-moon, whenever they rested but one day, they thought that so much time was lost to them; for we see that the avaricious grow weary,

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[164] Ibid., XII, 104. Ps. 127:2.

[165] Ibid., p. 107. Ps. 127:2.

[166] The same view is expressed in Opera, XXXIV, 309. Sermon on Job 22:18-22.

> as their cupidity ever excites them, for they are like an oven: and since they are thus hot, if an hour is lost, they think that a whole year has passed away; "How is it," they say, "there is no merchant coming? I have now rested one day, and I have not gained a farthing."[167]

The avaricious worked without rest and relaxation until labor became a "disease of the mind."[168] It sounds almost as if work in the times of Amos had become an end in itself.

The question as to the type of work to be followed by the individual did not seem to be any great problem with Calvin. On the one hand he indicated that " . . . one is not to be employed at that which God condemns by his Word."[169] On the other hand Calvin stressed the idea that men should " . . . choose those employments which yield the greatest advantage to their neighbours."[170] Once again, Christian concern for all men in society is a point of emphasis as in all of Calvin's social and economic thought.

Equity and humanity demand that employers are not to be oppressive to their hired help while the laborer is worthy of his hire.[171] "It follows that they are cruel,

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[167] Works of Calvin, XXVII, 365. Amos 7:5.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Opera, XLVI, 554. Sermon on Matt. 3:11-12.

[170] Works of Calvin, XLI, 300. Eph. 4:28.

[171] Ibid., XLIII, 139. 1 Tim. 5:18. See also Ibid., XLV, 345.

and have forgotten the claims of equity, who permit cattle to suffer hunger; and incomparably worse are they that act the same part toward men, whose sweat they such out for their own accommodation."[172] Deut. 25:4. "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox." From this Calvin concluded: "The sum is, that we should freely and voluntarily pay what is right, and that everyone should be strict with himself as to the performance of his duty; for if we are bound to supply subsistence to brute animals, much less must we wait for men to be importunate with us, in order that they may obtain their due."[173] To refuse to pay a just wage or to withhold a man's just due is the worst of sins.

> But nothing can be more cruel than to deprive the poor of the fruit of their labour, who from their labour derive their daily support. It is, indeed, commanded in the Law, that the wages of the labourer should not sleep with us, for that would be the same as to kill him. There is also another indignity; when a robber kills a man, his object is the spoil; but he who extorts labour from a poor man, and sucks, so to speak, his blood, afterwards sends him away naked and needy, this is more atrocious than violence to kill him.[174]

Masters are not to exploit their servants but are to pay them a fair wage which is to be determined by the service rendered and natural equity which would not permit

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[172] Ibid., XLIII, 140. 1 Tim. 5:18.

[173] Ibid., V, 115-116. Deut. 25:4.

[174] Ibid., XIX, 95-96. Jer. 22:13. See also Ibid., XXXVIII, 295. 1 Cor. 9:10 and Ibid., V, 112. Lev. 19:13.

anyone from doing to another what he would not wish to be done to himself. When, thus, an individual has someone in his service, he ought to consider the question: "If I were in his place, how would I want to be treated?"[175] Because of the above attitude Calvin was diametrically opposed to allowing the law of supply and demand from deciding the wage of a worker. If an employer sees that work is scarce and the laborers are abundant and that an individual has no place to work but for himself, he is not to pay the worker only half a wage. One should not take advantage of another because he is destitute and in one's power.[176] If there is a central theme in Calvin's social and economic views up to this point, it would have to be the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

Calvin, however, was a practical man and realized that men are drawn away from the great principles of equity and justice by blind greed. Therefore, some kind of legal agreement between workers and employers is necessary with regard to wages in order to prevent injustice. In commenting on the relationship between Laban and Jacob in the Old Testament, Calvin stated:

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[175] Opera, XXVII, 347. Sermon on Deut. 15:11-15.

[176] Ibid., XXVIII, 189. Sermon on Deut. 24:14-18.

> In the first place a great principle of equity is set before us in Laban; inasmuch as this sentiment is inherent in almost all minds, "that justice ought to be mutually cultivated," till blind cupidity draws them away in another direction. And God has engraven in man's nature a law of equity; so that whoever declines from that rule, through immoderate desire of private advantage, is left utterly without excuse.[177]

Laban forgot about the principle of equity and thought only of his own profit.

> Such an example is certainly worthy of notice, for men seldom err in general principles, and therefore, with one mouth, confess that every man ought to receive what is his due; but as soon as they descend to their own affairs, perverse self-love blinds them, or at least envelopes them in such clouds that they are carried in an opposite course. Wherefore, let us learn to restrain ourselves, that a desire of our own advantage may not prevail to the sacrifice of justice.[178]

Calvin alluded to an ancient saying that people should deal lawfully with their friends so that they will not have to go to law with them.[179]

> For, whence arise so many legal broils, except that everyone is more liberal towards himself, and more niggardly toward others than he ought to be? Therefore, for the purpose of cherishing concord, firm compacts are necessary, which may prevent injustice on one side or the other.[180]

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[177] Works of Calvin, II, 129. Gen. 29:14.

[178] Ibid., pp. 129-130. Gen. 29:14.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

John Calvin, as was indicated at the beginning of this chapter, was supposedly much different from Luther in that the latter was of peasant stock and a man of the soil, who praised agriculture as the ideal form of manual labor while being very suspicious of commercial enterprise. Calvin, however, belonged to the middle class and spent most of his life in cities. Because of his life in the urban centers, he was supposed to be more predisposed to trade and commerce which is closely associated with the spirit of modern capitalism. Even though Calvin was a city dweller, this is not to say that he was any less idealistic with regard to the agricultural way of life than Luther, nor was he less able to see the dangers associated with the life of the merchant.

Nature, in Calvin's mind, was the theater in which God displayed his glory.[181] Those who labored in this natural setting are blessed indeed. "Agriculture is in itself a mode of living not only honest and innocent, but also remote from ambition, fraud, and plunder: in short, it seems to be of all kinds of living the simplest and the most innocent."[182] Calvin also was aware that merchants engrossed in their gainful arts acquire a great portion

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[181] André Bieler, La Pensée Économique et Sociale De Calvin (Genève, 1961), p. 425.

[182] Works of Calvin, XX, 307. Jer. 25:1-7.

of the wealth of the world and often become rich through frauds and dishonest means. However, their money will be useless to them when God extends his hand to punish them.[183] The husbandman, however, is educated and taught in the smallest matters by God with a willing heart.[184] The prophet Isaiah called the merchants of Tyre kings.

> In like manner the merchants of Venice in the present day think that they are on a level with princes, and that they are above all other men except kings; and even the factors look on men of rank as beneath them. I have been told, too, that at Antwerp there are factors who do not hesitate to lay out expenses which the wealthiest of nobility could not support.[185]

In writing of the final destruction of Tyre--that proud ancient city, Calvin stated:

> The Prophet therefore assigns the causes of so great an overthrow, that we may not think that God acts without a reason; for the inhabitants of Tyre were proud, ambitious, lewd, and licentious. These vices follow in the train of wealth and abundance, and commonly abound in mercantile cities.[186]

From the above statements and from others that could be quoted, it is clear that Calvin did not condemn trade in itself, but he was sufficiently astute to realize that inherent dangers exist in commerce and in the large urban centers associated with it. Consequently, Calvin went

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[183] Ibid., XXIX, 214. Zeph. 1:12.

[184] Ibid., XIV, 304. Is. 28:26.

[185] Ibid., pp. 151-152. Is. 23:8.

[186] Ibid., pp. 152-153. Is. 23:9.

about the task of pointing out these dangers to the Christian world and warned men to be on their guard. They were to be on guard not only to remain apart from evil or calamity themselves, but for the sake of all the community.

In the opinion of this author there is no end to this study, unless one took the time and space to reproduce the greater portion of Calvin's writings, for his social and economic teachings are an integral part of her sermons, commentaries, letters, and theological works. At the same time, however, the samplings of Calvin's writings in this paper are sufficient to provide a good insight into his economic and social views. In conclusion, I would have to say as with Doumergue in his monumental biography of John Calvin that I cannot understand how a scholar, such as Max Weber, could have developed such a distorted view of the general spirit of John Calvin and Calvinism. Neither can I understand nor accept the misconstrued view of Weber with regard to the doctrine of predestination and its social consequence. The social spirit of Calvin is most fraternal and does not fit into the pattern established by Mr. Weber.[187] "Can one find the

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[187] E. Doumergue, Jean Calvin: Les hommes et les choses de son temps. (7 vols.; Lousanne, 1899-1917; Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1926-27), V, 627.

slightest trace of the spirit of capitalism in these words of Calvin? There is none, absolutely none."[188]

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[188] Ibid., p. 651.

CHAPTER V

THE SPIRIT OF ENGLISH PURITANISM: RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

According to R. H. Tawney, the most fundamental movement of the seventeenth century was the growth, triumph, and transformation of the Puritan spirit.[1] "Puritanism, not the Tudor secession from Rome, was the true English Reformation, and it is from its struggle against the old order that an England which is unmistakably modern emerges."[2] Weber contended that it was the psychological conditioning of society by the teachings (spirit) of the Puritans that made possible the development of a capitalist civilization.[3] More specifically it was the intrinsic character of their religious beliefs that prepared the way and fostered the development of a spirit of capitalism[4] which found its best expression in the writings of Benjamin Franklin.[5] In particular it was the harsh and gloomy

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[1]Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p. 198.

[2]Ibid., pp. 198-199.

[3]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 1(c).

[4]Ibid., p. 40.

[5]Ibid., pp. 48-50.

doctrine of predestination, which was the most characteristic of Calvinism,[6] that formed the dogmatic background of the Puritan morality in the sense of methodically rationalized, ethical conduct.[7] This rationalized, ethical conduct is the basis of Christian asceticism from which is derived the concept of the calling.[8] It was the emphasis on the ascetic importance of a fixed calling that provided an ethical justification for practices that produced the spirit of modern capitalism.[9]

In the light of the foregoing statements the task in this chapter will be to examine certain theological teachings of the English Puritans, as they are revealed to us in their own writings, to see if Weber was justified in seeking the origins of the spirit of capitalism in their religious beliefs.

A. Origin Of The Name "Puritan"

Perhaps the name "Puritan," itself, provides some insight into the type of religious ideals that will be considered at this time. "Like many another name afterwards carried with pride--like Christian or Quaker or

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[6] Ibid., p. 98.

[7] Ibid., p. 125.

[8] Ibid., p. 180.

[9] Ibid., p. 163.

Methodist--'Puritan' was at first a nickname, given in scorn and bitterness and wholly repudiated by those to whom it was applied."[10] Thomas Fuller states that the word was first used in 1564 when the English bishops sought to show their authority by " . . . urging the clergy of their diocesses to subscribe to Liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church, and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of Puritans."[11] Soon after that date " . . . profane mouths quickly improved this nickname, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people: some of them so far from opposing the Liturgy, that they endeavoured (according to the instructions thereof in the preparative to the Confession) 'to accompany the minister with a pure heart,' and laboured (as it is in the Absolution) 'for a life pure and holy.'"[12] The term Puritan has been used vaguely over the years and has become a useful term of abuse.[13] However, from Fuller's statements it is possible to isolate two major points

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[10]Hugh Martin, Puritanism and Richard Baxter (London, 1954), p. 11. Hereafter cited as Martin, Baxter.

[11]Thomas Fuller, The Church History of Britain: From the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year 1648 (3 vols.; London, 1868), II, 540. Hereafter cited as Fuller, Church History.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Martin, Baxter, p. 12.

of emphasis of the Puritans. First of all, there is the idea of nonconformity to the traditional liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the Church. Secondly, there is the concept of a purer and more holy life than that which prevailed in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the two the latter is probably the more important for the purpose of this study in attempting to determine the nature of the spirit of Puritanism as it is related to the thesis of Weber.

To begin with it is important to stress the fact that Puritanism was primarily a movement for the reform of religion,[14] and to attempt to think of it as fundamentally concerned with terrestrial things is to misrepresent it completely.[15] This is one of the errors of Max Weber and his followers which will be considered later with the matter of the calling.

B. The Bible As The Basis Of Puritan Teachings

Another principal consideration that must be borne in mind in attempting to distill the essence of

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[14]William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism: Or, the Way to the New Jerusalem As Set Forth in Pulpit and Press From Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1957), p. 5. Hereafter cited as Haller, Puritanism.

[15]M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1965), p. 401. Hereafter cited as Knappen, Tudor Puritanism.

the Puritan teachings is the fact that the foundations on which their religious as well as their social and economic views were built was the Bible. The Puritans carried to its logical conclusion, as did Calvin, the Protestant insistence upon the Bible as the only rule of faith and conduct.[16] There are at least two reasons why this must be emphasized. Firstly, it is impossible to find the spirit of capitalism, as defined by Weber, in Holy Writ. Secondly, the Puritans were not left without guidance and solace as the means of attaining grace as they walked life's path to heaven as Weber asserted.[17] It was a cardinal principle of Puritanism that nothing be done in anything " . . . but that which you have the expresse warrant of Gods Worde for."[18] The Word of God or Holy Scripture, according to the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1647, is contained in the Old and New Testaments[19]--"All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life."[20] The confession further

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[16]Martin, Baxter, p. 76.

[17]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 104-107.

[18]Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt: With A Reprint of the Admonition to the Parliament and Kindred Documents, 1572, eds. W. Frere and C. Douglas (London, 1954), p. 15. Hereafter cited as Frere, Manifestoes.

[19]Schaff, Creeds, p. 601.

[20]Ibid., p. 602.

declares that " . . . our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts."[21] The Puritans also accepted the sixth of the Thirty-Nine Articles which states: "Holy Scripture conteyneth all things necessarie to saluation: so that whatsoeuer is not read therein, nor may be proued thereby, is not to be required of anye man, that it should be beleued as an article of the fayth, or be thought requisite [as] necessarie to saluation."[22] These views on the authority of Scripture as the guide for obtaining salvation and for all of life's activities that are set forth in the official confessions of faith can also be found in the writings of numerous individual English Puritans. Richard Baxter,[23]

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[21] Ibid., p. 603.

[22] Ibid., p. 489.

[23] Richard Baxter was a Presbyterian divine who was born at Rowton in Shropshire on November 12, 1615. In the "Breviate" of the life of his wife, Baxter describes his father as a "mean freeholder, called a gentleman for his ancestors' sake." He grew to manhood during the reign of Charles I. His early education was limited, and throughout life Baxter deplored his lack of academic training. Richard was converted at the age of fifteen. He was ordained by Bishop Thornborough in 1638. However, after reading a number of writings, he came to the conclusion that episcopacy as practiced in the Church of England was not the same as the primitive government of the early Church and; consequently, became critical of the established order. Baxter was called to the Parish

Weber's prime, or only, example of a typical Puritan writer who fostered the development of the spirit of capitalism, states that " . . . you should make the Word of God your Rule, and your delight and meditation day and night."[24] Later he writes that the Word of God should be the "only rule" for an individual's life and that he should labor diligently to understand it.[25] Richard Sibbes[26] says: "There is not anything that befalls

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Church at Kidderminster in 1640 where he was to remain for the next twenty years except for a brief time during the Civil War. During these years, he became a man of remarkable power and influenced the people he served and the Puritan movement as a whole, even after his death in 1691. As a writer Baxter is usually credited with writing some 168 books, the best-known being, A Christian Directory. The material for this short biographical note was taken from two sources: Martin, Baxter, pp. 36-39, 125. and Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen (63 vols.; London, 1885), III, 429-437. Hereafter cited as DNB.

[24]Richard Baxter, The Practical Works of the Late Reverend and Pious Mr. Baxter (4 vols.; London, 1707), I, 27. Hereafter cited as Baxter, Works.

[25]Ibid., p. 82.

[26]Richard Sibbes was born in Suffolk in 1577, the son of a wheelwright. He was bred a fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, coming to those hallowed halls in 1595. He was converted under the preaching of a famous Puritan by the name of Paul Baynes, although the exact date is not known. In 1609 Sibbes became the preacher at St. John's, and the following year he was invited by the minister and people of Trinity Parish, Cambridge to become their lecturer. He eventually lost his fellowship in 1615 and his lectureship as well; however, he had by that time made such a reputation that it opened for him a still more influential pulpit, that of Gray's Inn. Sibbes was a man of great ability,

a Christian in his life, but there is a rule or pattern for it in Scripture."[27] John Hooper, who by his zealous support of the principles of the Reformation in actions and writings contributed greatly to the popularization of extreme puritanic religious ideas in England[28] states his views on Scripture as follows:

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tact, and humility and won for himself an audience of tremendous importance. His sermons became classics of popular inspiration, and they were instrumental in the conversion of such men as Richard Baxter, John Cotton, and Hugh Peters. He died in 1635 according to the Dictionary of National Biography, but Thomas Fuller, the great church historian states that it was in 1631. Sources for biographical note were: DNB, LII, 182-84., Haller, Puritanism, pp. 65-67. and Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England (3 vols.; London, 1840), III, 185. Hereafter cited as Fuller, Worthies.

[27]Richard Sibbes, The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes, ed. A. Grosart (7 vols.; Edinburgh, 1862), IV, 448. Hereafter cited as Sibbes, Works.

[28]John Hooper was born in Somerset near the end of the fifteenth century, although the exact date and place are unknown. His father seems to have been a man of wealth. He graduated B.A. at Oxford early in 1519. Upon leaving the university, Hooper entered the Cistercian monastery at Gloucester where he probably received holy orders. When the monasteries were dissolved in England, he went to London where he soon came under the influence of the writings of Bullinger. He then returned to Oxford with the intention of promoting reforming ideals. He was soon forced to flee to the continent where he became intimate with Bullinger and corresponded with Bucer. In 1549 Hooper returned to England and became chaplain to Protector Somerset. He then became the leader of the advanced section of the reformers. In 1551 Hooper was consecrated bishop of Gloucester and early in 1552 the see of Worcester was given to him. Hooper was opposed to the attempt to set aside Mary in favor of Lady Jane Grey, but he was one of the first persons against whom proceedings were taken during her rule. He was charged with heresy and was burned in 1555. By his writings and actions Hooper greatly contributed to the popularization of puritanic religious ideals in England. Source for biographical note: DNB, XXVII, 304-306.

> I call that only the word, which was revealed by the Holy Ghost unto the holy patriarchs, prophets, and apostles of Jesus Christ; the which word is contained within the canonical books of the old and new testaments; by the which word we are made clean, and thereby do receive the self-same things and as much as we do by the sacraments; that is to say, Jesus Christ by his word, which is the word of faith, giveth and communicateth himself unto us, as well as by the sacraments, albeit it be by another manner and fashion.[29]

Hooper goes on to say that the Scriptures are sufficient not only for matters concerning our salvation, but that "The same word of God is the true pattern and perfect rule, after the which all faithful people ought to govern and order their lives, without turning either to the right hand or the left hand, without changing anything thereof, without putting to it or taking from it, knowing that all the works of God are perfect, but most chiefly his work."[30] According to Richard Greenham, another important English Puritan, "It is the wisdom of God in his holie word not only to instruct vs in things concerning our saluation, but also to teach vs in things of this life."[31]

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[29]Bishop Hooper, Later Writings of Bishop Hooper: Together With His Letters and Other Pieces, ed. C. Nevinson (Cambridge, 1852), p. 43. Hereafter cited as Hooper, Later Writings.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Richard Greenham, Richard Greenham, The Workes of the Reverend and the Faithfvll Servant of Jesus Christ, ed. H. Holland (Fourth ed.; London, 1605), p. 726. Hereafter cited as Greenham, Works. Greenham has been referred to as the patriarch of Baxter's "affectionate practical English writers." His career and personality were to

C. The Puritan Concept Of God And The Doctrine Of Election

It is now necessary to turn our attention for a few moments to the English Puritan concept of God and to the "dark," "gloomy," and "inhuman"[32] doctrine of predestination which, according to Max Weber, became the most characteristic dogma of the Calvinists.[33] Weber believed that the murky, foul doctrine of election formed the dogmatic background of the Puritan morality in the sense of methodically rationalized ethical conduct.[34] This rationalized

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foreshadow and have a tremendous impact upon many a subsequent Puritan. He was born in 1535 and educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge where he took his degree in Arts and was chosen fellow. When Greenham left the university in 1570, he became pastor to the congregation at Drayton, near Cambridge, where he labored for twenty years at the task of promoting the salvation of souls. He is characterized as a man who avoided controversy and all the trouble that followed. He was more concerned to be useful to man and God than to any worldly profit from his office; therefore, Greenham refused a number of rich preferments when offered him. In addition to his public ministry it seems he had a remarkable talent for giving religious counsel to individuals that had troubled consciences. As a writer he also had an important impact upon the Puritan community, with statements from his nine-hundred-page folio finding honored mention in the works of many Puritan writers during the years after his death in 1594. Sources for biographical note: DNB, XXIII, 77-78., Haller, Puritanism, pp. 26-29., and Benjamin Brook, The Lives of the Puritans: From the Reformation Under Queen Elizabeth to the Act of Uniformity in 1662 (3 vols.; London, 1813), I, 415-418. Hereafter cited as Brook, Lives of Puritans.

[32] Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 102-104.

[33] Ibid., p. 98.

[34] Ibid., p. 125.

ethical conduct is the basis of Christian asceticism from which is derived the concept of the calling.[35] It was the emphasis on the ascetic importance of a fixed calling that provided an ethical justification for practices that produced the "spirit of modern capitalism."[36]

To begin with, Weber asserted that in the religious teachings of the English Puritans, "The Father in heaven of the New Testament, so human and understanding, who rejoices over the repentance of a sinner as a woman over the lost piece of silver she has found, is gone."[37] He is replaced by a transcendental being, who is beyond the reach of human understanding, who has decided the fate of every individual with his decrees and plans for the universe. This is the horrible God that has elected some for damnation and some for heaven.[38] This interpretation of the English Puritan God needs to be closely examined from the writings of some leading Puritans. Listen as the English Puritans speak. Richard Baxter says that "Though the Majesty and Glory [of God] will cause our Reverence, yet it will not be our Terror, to the Diminution

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[35] Ibid., pp. 153-154, 180.

[36] Ibid., p. 163.

[37] Ibid., p. 103.

[38] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

of our Joy."[39] Again he says that men should consider and know " . . . the wonderful Love and mercy of God. . . . Think well what pure and sweet delights a soul may enjoy from God. . . . "[40]

John Robinson maintains in a work entitled "Of God's Love" that "God reveals his glorious Majesty in the highest heavens, his fearful justice in the hell of the damned; his wise and powerful providence is manifest throughout the whole world; but his gracious love and mercy in, and unto his Chruch here upon earth; which he therefore hath chosen, and taken near unto himself, that in it might be seen the riches of his glorious grace."[41] He continues by saying even though " . . . all things in God are infinite, and one; yet are the effects of his love more wonderful, and excellent, than of any other of

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[39]Baxter, Works, IV, 763.

[40]Ibid., I, 81.

[41]John Robinson, The Works of John Robinson, ed. Robert Ashton (3 vols.; London, 1851), I, 4. Hereafter cited as Robinson, Works. John Robinson was the famous leader of the Pilgrims. He was born about 1576 in Lincolnshire. His early career is involved in obscurity. It seems that Robinson studied at Cambridge where he came under the influence of William Perkins. Because of his nonconformists views he emigrated to Amsterdam in 1608 and in 1609 to Leyden where he became pastor of a group that followed the congregational pattern of Church government. Although Robinson was one of the chief formulators of the New England expedition, because of circumstances he was not able to sail with the Speedwell from Holland. He remained at Leyden until his death in 1625. Source for biographical note: DNB, XL, 18-22.

his attributes; as appeare in that his greatest, and strangest, work of giving his only begotten Son to the cursed death of the cross, for his enemies, out of his love and mercy."[42] Even though God provides evidence of his majesty and justice, His love and mercy are more important. In fact, "All that God doth to us it is in love. He chooseth us in love, and doth everything in love; and all that we do to God must be in love."[43] God has more delight " . . . in mercy, as being his proper work, issuing from his own bowels, than in works of justice that are occasioned by the malice of men."[44] God is more interested in saving men than in destroying those who do not accept his teachings.[45] "Considering, therefore, that mercy bears the chief office in the great works of God, we ought to dwell most in consideration thereof, and feed our thoughts more with the meditation of his saving works to his church than the ruin of his enemies."[46]

Richard Greenham asserted that although a man was in despair because of his own unworthiness, or because his

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Sibbes, Works, IV, 181.

[44] Ibid., I, 309.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

own merits are beggarly and his sins are many, our redemption is greater, and God's mercy is a rich mercy.[47] "God is rich in mercy not only to our souls, but in providing all we stand in need of."[48] In other words God cares and is concerned about all the needs of his people. The English Puritans were not Deists who believed that God was unknowable or an impersonal machine that had no feeling of love toward his creation. On the contrary, "The utmost ordinary means of revelation of God's will for man's salvation and happiness is the gospel."[49]

It is the revelation of the New and not the Old Testament that is the inspiration of the spirit of English Puritanism. According to William Perkins, "God hath shewed his mercy in giving a Saviour to mankind."[50]

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[47]Greenham, Works, p. 9.

[48]Sibbes, Works, VII, 198.

[49]Robinson, Works, I, 52.

[50]William Perkins, The Works of That Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge (3 vols.; 3rd ed.; London, 1616-1618), I, 4. Hereafter cited as Perkins, Works. William Perkins was born at Marton in Warwickshire in the year 1558 and was educated in Christ's College, Cambridge. He entered that institution in 1577 and was soon elected fellow. As a young scholar at Cambridge he was exceedingly profane and devoted to drunkenness. It was not until he heard a woman say to a peevish child, "Hold your tongue, or I will give you to drunken Perkins, yonder," that he was converted. After his conversion Perkins became one of the ablest and most brilliant ministers of the time. He began his ministry by preaching to the prisoners in the castle with

That savior is disclosed to man in the New Testament in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Roger Hutchinson, another learned and acute divine, maintained that, "The gospel is a sermon of God's mercy, that he hath blotted out our sin by faith only in Christ's blood; . . ."[51] The key of knowledge for Hutchinson was God's Holy Testament and Word, wherein was found a Christ who died for men that they might be justified before the heavenly Father in order that they might be made alive.[52] Richard Sibbes felt

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considerable success. His fame as a preacher quickly spread throughout the whole University, and he was soon chosen minister at St. Andrew's Church where he remained a vigorous and faithful pastor of Christ until his death in 1602. Perkins was unmatched as a powerful and influential sermonizer. The story is told that when John Cotton, as yet an unregenerate undergraduate at Trinity College, heard the tolling of the bell for Perkin's death, his sinful heart secretly rejoiced that his conscience would no longer be troubled by that voice. Perkins was as skillful and diligent a writer as he was a speaker, and after his death his collected works filled three large folio volumes. Sources for biographical note: Haller, Puritanism, pp. 64-65. and Brook, Lives of Puritans, II, 129-136.

[51]Roger Hutchinson, The Works of Roger Hutchinson, ed. J. Bruce (Cambridge, 1842), p. 15. Hereafter cited as Hutchinson, Works. The son of William Hutchinson, Roger was probably a north-country man, although it is sometimes stated that he was a native of Hertfordshire. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge and received his B.A. in 1541, his M.A. in 1544, and was chosen senior fellow in March of 1547. He was appointed fellow of Eton College in 1550, but this position was lost during the reign of Mary, for being married. Roger died about May 1555. Source for biographical note: DNB, XXVIII, p. 343.

[52]Ibid.

this way about his God and Christ's sacrifice for men: "It is wondrous in regard of the fruit we have by this service of Christ, the work of our redemption, to be translated from the kingdom of Satan to the glorious liberty of the sons of God, Rom. viii.21. to be brought out of darkness into marvellous light."[53] It was a matter of marvel and wonder to him that man had received so much good because of Christ's love and abasement for men.[54] "Here are all dimensions in this excellent work that Christ hath wrought by his abasement, by his incarnation, and taking upon him the form of a servant, and dying for us; here is the height and breadth, and length and depth of the love of God in Christ."[55] Sibbes finishes thus: "O the riches of God's mercy!"[56] God not only reveals Himself, his love, and mercy in the Bible, but there is what William Perkins refers to as " . . . blessed communion with the true God."[57] Richard Sibbes writes that Christ is in God, and God is in Christ and both are in us.[58] "There is a

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[53]Sibbes, Works, I, 7.

[54]Ibid., p. 8.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Perkins, Works, I, 151.

[58]Sibbes, Works, VI, 461.

marvellous sweet relation and communion between God and us, and Christ and us. It is a sweet communion and mysterious to us."[59] Here is a mystical relationship between the individual and God that is warm and vital which is contrary to the cold, rational attitude of the English Puritans as indicated by Weber.

This mystical bond in Christ is not limited only to the individual, but it exists in the Church as a whole. Thomas Goodwin in speaking to godly men presents his views as follows: " . . . agree; you are the body of Christ, remember that; let your mystical relation to Christ, that mystically you are his body, prevail over all considerations whatsoever. It is the strongest tie in the world."[60]

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Thomas Goodwin, The Works of Thomas Goodwin (12 vols.; Edinburgh, 1861-1866), I, 561. Hereafter cited as Goodwin, Works. Thomas Goodwin was born at Rollesby (or Rolisby) in Norfolk in 1600. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge in 1613 and graduated B.A. in 1616. He was a hearer and great admirer of Dr. John Preston as well as Richard Sibbes and other Puritans; however, Goodwin was temporarily alienated from the Puritan cause while at Catherine Hall from 1619-1620 at which time he received his M.A. However, his Puritan zeal was rekindled on November 16, 1620 during a funeral sermon preached by Thomas Bainbrigg. He was then chosen fellow, commenced B.D., in 1628 was elected lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, and in 1632 became vicar of Trinity Church. In 1634 he left the university, being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity. From 1634-1639 Goodwin was probably a separatist preacher in London. At the latter date he went to Holland and became pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. He returned to London about the beginning of the long Parliament and was appointed a member of the Westminster assembly

As members of the mystical body of Christ, the English Puritan Christians were strongly bound together by what they called the communion of the saints. Richard Greenham illustrates this well in the following quotation: "In that you beleeue that there is a vniversall Church and communion of Saints, you must be diligent to approoue your selves one to each other, that you are parts and members thereof: and further, the graces that God hath bestowed vpon either of you, must be common in the vse thereof to each other: so againe you must sustaine the infirmities one of another."[61] The problem of the communion of the saints will be considered at greater length in the examination of the social teachings of the English Puritans.

From the foregoing pages it is evident that Weber's interpretation of the English Puritan God is a grave mistake, for the God of Richard Baxter, Richard Sibbes, John Robinson or a host of other English Puritan leaders and writers is

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in 1643. After the death of Charles I he was made president of Magdalen College. He was held in high esteem by Oliver Cromwell and attended him on his death bed. After the restoration he was deprived, according to the DNB, of his office as president of Magdalen. Mr. Daniel Neal states that he resigned. After his deprivation or resignation Mr. Goodwin withdrew to London, where he continued as a minister until his death in 1680. Sources for biographical note: DNB, XXII, 148-150., Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth, rev. by J. Toulmin (5 vols.; London, 1793), IV, 575-587. Hereafter cited as Neal, Puritans.

[61]Greenham, Works, p. 177.

not the God of Weber. I am convinced from my study that more is said about the love and mercy of God in the writings of the English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than about his majesty, glory, and justice. There is also more emphasis upon Christ as the redeemer and the Holy Spirit as sanctifier than upon Jehovah of the Old Testament. Even the God of the Old Testament is Love from which arises mercy and goodness as seen in Christ. There is a warm, mystical bond between Christ and each individual Christian as well as between Christ and the Church as a whole in the writings of the English Puritans that were studied for this paper.

Another germane problem with regard to the mystical emphasis in the religious teaching of the English Puritans, as opposed to the rational, semi-Pelagian views of Weber, is the idea of conversion. There must be a change in the life if a person was to become a true Christian. Baxter believed that, "You are never truly changed, till your Hearts be changed."[62] In other words men are to turn from the type of worldly activity that Weber talks about to another kind of life that reflects the teachings of God as they are presented to the world in the Bible. No man, according to Baxter, can have a changed heart and enter into the kingdom of God that is not born of the Spirit

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[62]Baxter, Works, I, 18.

of God.[63] This Spirit of God comes to man as a result of the death of Christ for the sins of the world. "The Son [Christ] offereth to be thy Saviour, to justifie thee by his blood and grace, and teach thee, and govern thee as thy Head, in order to provide thy everlasting happiness."[64] The Holy Spirit is to be men's sanctifier, comforter, and guide.[65] "God will never be reconciled to thy sins: If he be reconciled to thy person, it is as thou art justified by Christ, and sanctified by the Spirit."[66] Once men are regenerate and have the Spirit of God, they are to pattern their lives after Christ. "Fix your eye upon . . . [Christ] as your pattern and study with earnest desire to follow his holy example, and be made conformable to him."[67] Richard Sibbes states: "We cannot have a better pattern than be like him [Christ] by whom we all hope to be saved another day."[68] The life of the regenerate who seeks to follow the example of Christ must be holy, for men cannot see God without holiness. The uneducated may

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[63] Ibid., p. 6.

[64] Ibid., p. 14.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 10 [recte 15].

[67] Ibid., p. 72.

[68] Sibbes, Works, I, 369.

be saved, but the ungodly cannot.[69] There are also other indications that the heart is changed in that Christ implants in the heart a desire to seek after the following: holy knowledge, faith, devotedness to God and love to Him above all else, thankfulness, obedience, humility, self-denial, contentment, patience, sincerity and tenderness of heart, holy strength and resolution.[70] There is yet another very important sign of regeneration, states Sibbes: "And so, Christ, our master speaketh, 'By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.'"[71]

The gloomy teaching of predestination, Weber asserted, was the most characteristic doctrine of Calvinism that formed the dogmatic background of the Puritan morality in the sense of methodically rationalized, ethical conduct.[72] This rationalized, ethical conduct, said Weber, is the basis of Christian asceticism from which is derived the concept of the calling.[73] It was the emphasis on the ascetic importance of a fixed calling that provided an

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[69]Baxter, Works, I, 22.

[70]Ibid., p. 88. See also Sibbes, Works, I, 333.

[71]Sibbes, Works, VII, 132-133.

[72]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 125.

[73]Ibid., pp. 153-154, 180.

ethical justification for practices that produced the spirit of modern capitalism.[74]

In the foregoing pages it has been indicated from the writings of the English Puritans that the foundation of their religion was not the methodical, rationalized conduct in the sense in which Weber speaks. Furthermore, to say that predestination was the most characteristic dogma of Calvinism would be very difficult to prove. It is true that election is dealt with by almost all of the writers that I have read, and election is considered in almost all of the creeds of faith that I have studied of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; however, the emphasis varies from one writer to another. In the works of some men one would find very little said about election as a doctrine. The best example that I found to illustrate this would be Richard Sibbes. Of the seven volumes of his writings that I read election is greatly slighted, and it would seem at times that an Arminian was setting forth his views of salvation rather than a man who placed prime importance on the doctrine of election. On the other hand, in the works of William Perkins or Baxter there would be a greater emphasis on election. In spite of the greater emphasis, however, as in the case of

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[74] Ibid., p. 163.

Calvin, election is but a logical development of original English Puritan principles and must be looked upon as an article of faith among many other articles of equal importance.

Weber has pictured election as an inhuman and forbidding doctrine which produced a feeling of unprecedented, inner loneliness of the single individual. The reason for this was that man was forced to follow his path alone to meet his destiny. No one could help him. There was no priest, nor could the sacraments help since they are not a means to attain grace, while all magic connected with salvation was disallowed.[75]

Let us now examine the soundness of Weber's assumptions. Thomas Goodwin attested that God is delighted to love men,[76] and His great love is shown in the act of election.[77] The original cause of man's happiness, Richard Greenham affirms, is the love of God in ordaining him (man) to be heirs of eternal life.[78] "Wherein is laid open the bountifull riches of the mercie of God to vs ward, in that before the foundation of the world was laide, the foundation

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[75] Ibid., pp. 102-105.

[76] Goodwin, Works, VII, 248.

[77] Ibid., p. 240-241. See also Ibid., VIII, 559.

[78] Greenham, Works, p. 525.

of our saluation was made:"[79] In the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1647 we read that the mystery of the doctrine is to be handled with care and special prudence.[80] It is not something that everyone just speculates about. It goes on to say that " . . . this doctrine affords matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel."[81] This is the same attitude toward election that has been noted in the writings of Calvin and other Protestant movements on the continent, particularly the Dutch and French Calvinists. Although Weber looked upon election in an unfavorable light, this was not the case with the English Puritans.

We also find that Weber was incorrect in his idea of the feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the individual as a result of the doctrine of election because he (the individual) had to meet his eternal destiny without the aid of magic, priest, or sacrament.[82] To begin with, the idea that the English Puritans were lonely, long-faced, somber people who did not enjoy their religion

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[79] Ibid., See also Goodwin, Works, I, 42.

[80] Schaff, Creeds, p. 610.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 104-105.

is not a correct picture of them. It is true that the Christian life is often described as a struggle against evil forces, and the soldier of Christ must be on guard and will suffer want and hurt from time to time. This kind of imagery is as old as the Christian Church. The English Puritan religion, however, is far from gloomy and void of real joy and inspiration for the individual. In spite of the trials and hardships, in the mind of Richard Turnbull, a preacher and minister of the Word of God in London, there is always a glorious and happy ending for the Christian.[83] There are statements about the damned and hell, but heaven and its rewards are stressed even more in the writings of the English Puritans, while there are constant references as to the joys of salvation in Christ in this present world. John Bradford, a Protestant martyr who was burned in 1555, wrote: " . . . the kingdom of heaven, which is a kingdom of all joy, peace, riches, power

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[83]Richard Turnbull, An Exposition Vpon the Canonical Epistle of Saint James (London, 1591), pp. 33-35. Hereafter cited as Turnbull, Epistle of James. I have found very little biographical material on Richard Turnbull. M. Knappen in Tudor Puritanism (Page 420) refers to him as "an early seventeenth-century Puritan." John Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials (6 vols., Oxford, 1822), III, 478 lists one Richard Turnbull as a preacher at Canterbury Cathedral. On the title page of the Epistle of James quoted above he is mentioned as sometime fellow of Corpus Christie College in Oxford and preacher and minister of the Word of God in London. In the "Dedication" of the Epistle he speaks of the papists as adversaries of the Christians of England and enemies of the Gospel. His views as expressed in his writings show definite sympathy with Reformation ideals.

and pleasure, is at hand to all such as do so, that is as do repent."[84] The Christian way is a life of love and joy. It is a cheerful progress to heaven.[85] "The Gospel presenteth to you such abundant matter of joy and peace, as would make these the very complexion and temperature of your souls, . . ."[86]

Thus, the Christians are to have a loving, joyful, peaceful, and cheerful attitude at all times, and these are to be the usual, and not the unusual, traits of the followers of Christ. Men are to "Serve him [God] with gladness and cheerfulness of heart, as one that hath found the way of Life, and never had cause of gladness until now."[87] It sounds as if Baxter meant for individuals to enjoy their religion here as well as in the world to come. Bliss and felicity are also constant themes that are found in the writings of Richard Sibbes. He asks the question, "What is our life without joy? Without joy we can do nothing."[88] He goes on to say in another place

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[84]John Bradford, The Writings of John Bradford, ed. Aubrey Townsend (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1848), I, 44. Hereafter cited as Bradford, Writings.

[85]Baxter, Works, I, 46.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid., p. 19.

[88]Sibbes, Works, III, 223.

that " . . . joy is the state of Christians."[89] To Sibbes, if a person is a Christian, he will be happy because " . . . joy is reckoned as a fruit of the spirit."[90] There is nothing but all marrow and sweetness in religion after a man accepts the way of Christ, and even the man of the lowest condition may be refreshed if he will but have a taste of it.[91] The comforts and benefits of the Christian religion come to the people of God because of Christ's death for all.[92] "For this cause the oyle wherwith he [Christ] was anointed is called the oyle of gladnesse, because the sweete fauour of it gladdenth the hearts of all his members, and brings the peace of God which passeth al vnderstanding."[93] Perkins later writes: "This [salvation in Christ] is a matter of endlesse comfort vnto the people of God: for what can cause a man more to reioyce, then to knowe that his name particularly is knowne to the King of Kings, and that accordingly he hath speciall regard vnto him?"[94]

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[89] Ibid., p. 506.

[90] Ibid., V, 58.

[91] Ibid., II, 470.

[92] Perkins, Works, I, 169.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid., III, 334.

There is not only a spiritual joy for the English Puritans, but there were to me material and physical pleasures as well. In writing of certain hindrances to the salvation of people, Sibbes points out that there is " . . . a conceit that when we have once given up our names to Christ, that presently we bid adieu to all delight, mirth, and pleasure; when, alas! we are far deceived."[95] On the contrary, "God denies not pleasure to us, but will give us whatsoever is good for us."[96] William Perkins writes in a similar fashion: "We may vse the outward blessings of God for our honest delight."[97] He quotes Eccles. 5:17 to give authority to his statement: "'Behold what I have seen good, that is is comely to eat, and drinke, and to take pleasure in all his labour wherein man trauelleth vnder the sunne.'"[98]

The problem of ascetic tendencies in the lives of the English Puritans will be considered in greater detail in the section on the calling. Perhaps some would feel that considering the religious ecstasy of the English Puritans of nugatory value, but one must remember that,

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[95]Sibbes, Works, V, 107.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Perkins, Works, III, 136.

[98]Ibid.

according to Weber, it was in some measure the lack of these ingredients (joy, happiness, and cheerfulness) in the Puritan religion that helped to psychologically condition society and thus prepare the way for the spirit of capitalism.

The English Puritans also found help, strength, and comfort for the inner man by the preaching of the Word of God and by the sacraments. According to Richard Baxter, God has appointed the means and helps for the confirmation of man's salvation. Among these are the hearing of the Word.[99] William Perkins writes: "What outward means must wee vse to obtaine faith, and all blessings of God which come by faith? The preaching of Gods Word, and the administration of the Sacraments, and prayer."[100] The sacraments confer grace, in that the signs thereof confirm faith as a pledge, by reason that it has a promise fixed to it. "For when God commands vs to receive the signes in faith, and withal promiseth to the receiuers to giue the thing signified, he binds himselfe, as it were in bond vnto vs to stand to his owne word; . . . "[101] To Richard Sibbes, "The means of grace [the sacraments, and the Word of God] are not only

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[99]Baxter, Works, I, 16.

[100]Perkins, Works, I, 7.

[101]Ibid., p. 610.

necessary for the planting, but for the building up of the Church."[102]

In speaking as to why the sacraments were instituted, John Bradford maintains that God saw that men need a visual means of helping them to believe in Him and to remember His love and benefits to them. Bradford states:

> Our nature is very oblivious of God and of all his benefits: and again it is very full of dubitation and doubts of God's love and of his kindness. Therefore to the end these two things might be something reformed and holpen in us, the Lord hath instituted this sacrament, I mean that we might have in memory the principal benefit of all benefits, that is, Christ's death; and that we might be on all parts assured of communion, with Christ, of all kindness the greatest that ever God did give unto man.[103]

He expresses his views on the sacraments with greater feeling in the following manner: "O wonderful consolation which cometh to the godly hearts by reason of this sacrament [the Lord's Supper]!"[104] It is in the Lord's Supper that men have an assured witness that Christ is so coupled unto them, and that they are engrafted into Him, that they are one body with Him; and whatever Christ has, Christians may call it their own.[105] Again he states with considerable

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[102]Sibbes, Works, III, 336.

[103]Bradford, Writings, I, 105-106.

[104]Ibid., p. 261.

[105]Ibid.

emotion his views on the Lord's Supper.

> O comfort of comforts! Of all the things we have so assured witness in this sacrament, that we ought without all wavering to be so sure that they are exhibit and given unto us as if with our corporal eyes we did see thee, O sweet Christ, . . . [106]

Although the preaching of the Word has been alluded to as a source of strength and comfort to the individual English Puritan, a few more examples of its importance are apropos at this time. Henry Smith, an outstanding, English, Puritan preacher, put it this way: "As the wise rejoiced exceedingly when they saw the star which should lead them to Christ, so ye have matter of great joy and comfort when ye hear the word preached, which shall carry you to heaven like the chariots which conveyed Jacob into Egypt."[107] The words of Richard Greenham illustrate

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[106] Ibid., p. 61.

[107] Henry Smith, The Works of Henry Smith, ed. James Nichols (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1966), I, 496. Hereafter cited as Smith, Works. Henry Smith was a Puritan divine born in 1550, the son of a wealthy squire of Leicestershire. His stepmother was a sister of Lord Burleigh. He was admitted to Queen's College, Cambridge in 1573, but he did not enroll, and soon left the university. He then studied with Richard Greenham, who instilled him with Puritan principles. He was matriculated at Oxford as a member of Lincoln College in 1576 and graduated B.A. in 1579. He did not leave Oxford until about 1583, which seems to indicate he worked toward an M.A., although this is not known for certain. In 1587 Smith became lecturer at St. Clements Danes where he remained until his resignation because of ill-health in 1590. He died in 1591. As a preacher he met with tremendous popular success--so much so that he is known as silver-tongued Smith. His sermons were quickly printed and were reprinted; and after a collected edition was

this point well when he penned these thoughts: "Againe, to the penitent, whose consciences are burdened with griefe for their sinnes, he [the minister] may pronounce the sweet primes of the Gospell, how Iesus Christ hath died for them, and hath discharged them before the iudgement seate of God, and they shall be as sure of saluation, as if our Sauiour Christ should speake from heaven himselfe. . . . "[108] Spiritual joy and strength for William Perkins " . . . is found in the holy vse of the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer: and in the practices of Christian duties of mercie, loue, iustice, etc."[109] Once again it is seen that the Scriptures are very important in the religious life of the Puritans.

In that Holy Writ was so vital for the English Puritans, this brings us to another principal consideration--the importance of the minister in their daily religious lives. Weber argued that because the priest of the Middle Ages was eliminated in the Puritan community, this left each of them without guidance and comfort on their path to

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edited by Fuller, the Church historian, they became something like a household book for Sunday reading. Sources for biographical note: DNB, LIII, pp. 48-49. and Haller, Puritanism, pp. 29-30.

[108]Greenham, Works, p. 780.

[109]Perkins, Works, II, 35.

heaven. This is just not so. The office of the minister or preacher was essential, and the person who held that office spoke with great authority and exercised extensive influence in the community and upon the individual. In the minds of the English Puritans to disobey the minister of God is to disobey God himself and to despise His Word.[110] "True faith maketh vs only heirs of the kingdom of heaven; faith cannot be attained without hearing of Gods word preached; the word of it selfe cannot be preached without a preacher: therefore preachers are the only means appointed of God to worke faith in his children by the preaching of Gods word, and the secret working of the holy ghost, whereby they are made partakers of the promises."[111] The office of the minister is to preach and teach the Word to the congregation which is necessary for their salvation.[112] Perkins expressed his thoughts on the subject in this way: "Faith cometh only by the preaching of the word, and increaseth daily by it: as also by the administration of the sacraments and prayer."[113] However, " . . . Ministers are not set up

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[110]Greenham, Works, p. 788.

[111]Ibid., p. 779.

[112]Hooper, Later Writings, p. 277.

[113]Perkins, Works, I, 2.

only for publick Preaching, but for private Counsel also, according to our particular need."[114] Help to the individual could not become any more personalized than this.

Help, comfort, and encouragement came to the individual, in spite of what Weber said, in another fashion; this was by what the English Puritans referred to as the communion of the saints. Although the English Puritans were individualistic to the degree they were willing to take a stand for what they believed, and in some instances they were forced to stand alone; this is not to say that they were individuals to the extent that they were islands unto themselves with no need of intercourse with other Christians or felt no responsibility to men as a whole. There is a common bond, they believed, between Christians in the person of Christ, and all are brothers in Him, and men show this by their love for others. Henry Smith spelled it out in this manner: "Now we come to the marks of these kinsmen, [in Christ] which I may call the arms of his house. As Christ saith, 'By this all men shall know my disciples, if they love one another; . . .'"[115] Christ is the head of the Church,[116] and He is always

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[114]Baxter, Works, I, 38.

[115]Smith, Works, II, 295-296.

[116]Perkins, Works, I, 308.

present with it.[117] The Church is nothing else than a communion and society of Saints,[118] and the whole group " . . . communicateth with Christ and every member one with another in the benefits of Christ."[119] In other words, there is a vital and empowering relationship between Christ and His Church and to each member.

> There is therefore a rest and refreshing in the Church for all that come under it. And as this is true of the Church in general, so it is true of particular families, that are little churches. There is rest and happiness in them.[120]

Richard Greenham states: "In that you beleeue that there is an vniuersall Church and communion of Saints, you must be diligent to approoue your selues one to each other, that you are parts and members thereof: and further, the graces that God hath bestowed vpon either of you, must be common in the vse thereof to each other: so againe you must sustaine the infirmities one of another."[121] Richard Baxter sums it up well in the statement that men should keep in mind the excellency or importance of love

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[117] Ibid., III, 246.

[118] Bradford, Writings, I, 146.

[119] Greenham, Works, p. 248.

[120] Sibbes, Works, II, 354.

[121] Greenham, Works, p. 177.

and unity among believers.[122] "There is a Union and Communion with Christians as such: This consisteth in having one God, one Head, one Spirit, one Faith, one Baptismal Covenant, one Rule of holy living and in loving and praying for all, and doing good to as many as we can."[123]

Thus, fellowship with other Christians as members of the body of Christ, public worship and the guidance of the pastor provide indispensable aid, comfort, and encouragement to the individual in his journey to the world beyond. The prayers of the brethren are of great worth to all Christians, asserted Richard Baxter, and he even maintained the idea that the use of confession of sin to God and the saints, as well as serious meditation on the life to come can be helpful.[124]

The supposed inner loneliness of the Puritan religion, Weber argued, caused men to raise the questions: "Am I one of the elect?" and "How can I be certain of a state of grace?"[125] Weber contended that the Calvinists found the answers to these questions in pursuing ascetic ideals within mundane occupations.[126] A man's life in his calling

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[122]Baxter, Works, I, 38.

[123]Ibid.

[124]Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[125]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 110.

[126]Ibid., pp. 161-162, 178.

is an exercise in ascetic virtue which was a proof of his state of grace.[127] The individual, said Weber, was to work as hard as possible in his calling, while labor became an end in itself among the Puritans.[128] Men were to toil in order to acquire riches because this is willed of God,[129] and the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing. Making money was the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith,[130] and, thus, the Puritans equated election with success in their calling. The earning of money became an expression of virtue because it was gain for the glory of God.[131]

It has already been stressed that election was a matter of emphasis among the various English Puritan writers and that in their eyes it was not the accursed and repulsive doctrine described by Weber. Another important consideration with regard to the doctrine of election is the fact that the English Puritan writers cushioned the the effect of their teachings on the doctrine by extending the hope of salvation to all that hear and did not work at the task of forcing their readers into a state of constant

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[127] Ibid., pp. 120-121, 161-162.

[128] Ibid., p. 159.

[129] Ibid., pp. 162, 171.

[130] Ibid., pp. 133, 172.

[131] Ibid., pp. 53-54, 170-171.

despair, thus, the consequences were not the same as those for which Weber argued. On the contrary one is often struck with the idea, as he reads the writings of these men, that "whosoever will may be saved." William Gouge, "a Levite of the Levites"[132] among the English Puritans, illustrates the idea of universal atonement very effectively. Faith necessary for salvation comes to man by hearing the Word of God preached. Man's understanding is enlightened by this preaching from the Bible. This in turn shows man of his wickedness and wretchedness because of sin. This knowledge will produce grief for sin and a desire for God's mercy which in turn will then bring men to Christ and eventually an assurance of saving faith.[133] "Gods promises

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[132]Haller, Puritanism, p. 67.

[133]William Gouge, The Workes of William Gouge (2 vols.; London, 1627), II, 107-110. Hereafter cited as Gouge, Works. William was the son of Thomas Gouge, a wealthy gentleman of good descent, from whom he inherited a considerable fortune. He was born, according to the DNB in 1578, (Neal gives the date of 1575) at Stratford-le-Bow, Middlesex. His mother was the daughter of a London merchant by the name of Nicholas Culverwel. Her two sisters were married to William Whitakes, master of St. John's, Cambridge and Laurence Chaderton, master of Emmanuel. Her two brothers, Samuel and Ezekiel were distinguished divines. Thus it is evident that William Gouge came from a very prominent family. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He acquired a reputation as a prodigy of learning and an arch-Puritan. In 1607 William was ordained, and the next year he was by the citizens of Blackfriars selected to be their lecturer, and later he became their regular minister. There Mr. Gouge remained until his death in 1653, after having been minister of Blackfriars for almost forty-six years. He

are offered to all. For the extent of the offer of Christ, is so large, so general, as no person can have any iust cause to thinke himselfe exempted."[134] This statement does not sound as though anyone should have had been caused to despair as to their own election. Gouge states that the angel that brought the glad tidings of redemption from heaven at the birth of Christ said that it was for all people. When John was sent from God to bear witness of the light, it was in order that all men might believe and be saved through Christ.[135] "When Christ sent his Apostles forth to preach the Gospell, he bade them 'Goe and teach all Nations': And to shew that no particular man in any Nation was excepted, but every mothers Childe included."[136] The idea of the English Puritan image of God becomes important once again. God was moved to offer Christ for the salvation of men because God is good and rich in mercy.[137] As was indicated earlier, God, in the

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was one of the most outstanding preachers of this period. The godly from his own and other parishes, as well as the unenlightened, crowded into his church to hear him. In time he took his place among the divines at the Westminster Assembly. Sources for biographical note: Neal, Puritans, IV, 84-85., Haller, Puritanism, pp. 67-69., and DNB, XXII, 271-273.

[134] Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., p. 111.

writings of the English Puritans, is concerned about His wayward children and seeks to win them to Himself and takes no special delight in seeing them damned.

There are other good examples of how the English Puritans slighted or disregarded the consequences of the doctrine of election. Richard Sibbes writes that there is an invitation of salvation to every man in Matthew 11:28 that states, "'Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden.'"[138] Consequently, " . . . there is this to encourage a man, there is God's command, and his sweet invitation, 'Come unto me.' . . . Let none be discouraged: Christ and the promises are open to all."[139] Sibbes then proceeds to quote promise after promise from the Bible as to God's love, comfort, protection, and concern for the individuals in His creation.[140] Next he writes: "Let us empty our hearts of confidence in anything, and fill them with the promises in Christ. . . . Let us stablish our hearts with the promises, let us warm and season, and refresh our hearts every day with these."[141] Finally, Sibbes states: "The promises [of God] will be the joy and rejoicing

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[138]Sibbes, Works, III, 400.

[139]Ibid.

[140]Ibid., pp. 400-409.

[141]Ibid., p. 409.

of our hearts. . . . Where the promises are believed, they will quicken us to all cheerful obedience."[142] When considering the problem of assurance of election, he composed these thoughts:

> Away with disputing, and fall to obey. Put this question out of question by believing and obeying. Come in and stoop unto Christ, and then it will appear that thou are one that Christ died for; for he gives himself for all that believe in him.[143]

If men will trust in Christ and be ruled by Him, wrote Sibbes, then there will be no problem regarding the assurance of election. Satan holds many in a state of darkness by this delusion. Secret things belong to God, and revealed things belong to man. When God commands, invites, and entreats us to be reconciled to Himself, then it is man's duty to do so. This is done through the person of Christ.[144]

It would certainly seem to me that Max Weber failed to read the works of Mr. Sibbes and perhaps the writings of many other important and unimportant English Puritan Divines, for there is more in the writings of such men as Thomas Goodwin, William Perkins, and Richard Baxter. Thomas Goodwin set forth the view that if men will seek

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[142] Ibid., p. 413.

[143] Ibid., V, 403.

[144] Ibid. See also Sibbes, Works, I, 266, which is also excellent.

salvation and will continue to do so, there is a certainty that they shall obtain it; and it is a false slander to say that there are few elected and salvation may prove uncertain even though I seek it.[145] William Perkins, no more than the other authors that have been cited, does not force his audience or reader into a predicament that ends only in despair and hopelessness over salvation. For even, "To desire the helpe of Grace, is the beginning of Grace."[146] The desire for faith is an indication of its presence and that God is working in him.[147] "To see and feele in our selves the want of any grace pertaining to saluation, and to be grieved therefore, is the grace it selfe."[148] John Dod, one of the most prominent men of the English Puritan brotherhood during his long life, states that, "No man is in a sad Condition, but he that hath a hard heart, and cannot pray."[149]

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[145] Goodwin, Works, VIII, 571.

[146] Perkins, Works, I, 640.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., p. 641.

[149] John Dod, Old Mr. DOD'S Sayings: Or Posies gathered Out of Mr. Dod's Garden (Boston, 1731), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Dod, Posies. This famous divine was the youngest son of seventeen children of a country gentleman. He was born about 1549 in Cheshire. Dod was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he rose to be fellow and University Preacher. He was a friend of Richard Sibbes,

It would seem, if Weber is correct, that there would be a very rigid view of election in the writings of at least Richard Baxter, but he does not lead his followers down the road of election to a state of despondency either. Mr. Baxter expressed the idea that none but God's children will be saved. All, however, are His children that are truly willing to obey and please Him. If men are willing to be truly holy and to obey His will and live a godly, righteous life, they may boldly rest in His disposing will and rejoice in His rewarding and accepting will, for He will pardon all our sins through the merits and intercession of Christ.[150] In another place Baxter penned

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the celebrated preacher of Gray's Inn, while he frequently visited John Preston and consulted with John Cotton before Cotton left for America. There are many other famous Puritan leaders with whom he was also acquainted. John Dod remained at Cambridge until he received an invitation to become pastor at Hanwell in 1585. It is reported that he remained at this post for some twenty years during which time hundreds of souls were converted. His great popularity seemed to have aroused the envy of several neighboring ministers who caused him considerable trouble with the bishop. He also set up a lectureship in Banbury, and when he was silenced by the bishop in 1604, he found another pulpit in Fenny Compton in Warwickshire and then in Cannons Ashby in Northamptonshire. Dod's last pulpit was held at Fawsley in Northamptonshire where he died in 1645. By nature Dod was witty, by industry, a learned man, and by grace, a godly divine who had a tremendous impact upon his own day and on generations to come as a result of his writings. Evidence of his influence on other Puritans can be found in the works of such men as John Cotton, John Preston, Thomas Goodwin, John Davenport, and Thomas Hooker who often turned to Dod for counsel and encouragement. Sources for biographical note: Fuller, Worthies, I, 278-279., Brook, Lives of Puritans, III, 1-6, and Haller, Puritanism, pp. 58-61.

[150]Baxter, Works, IV, 839.

these thoughts: "None go to Hell, but those that chose the way to Hell, and would not be perswaded out of it: None miss of Heaven, but those that did set so light by it, as to prefer the World and sin before it, and refused the Holy Way that leadeth to it."[151]

It has not been my intent in the foregoing pages to prove that the English Puritans did not believe in the doctrine of election. This of course would be foolish. I am convinced, however, that the English Puritans greatly cushioned and muted the effect of their teachings on this doctrine, and thus the consequences were not the same as those for which Weber argued. I would maintain that in the many examples that have been provided from the works of the English Puritans they invariably stopped short of the logical conclusions of the doctrine. There is a concern for salvation; however, the word salvation is probably more commonly used than election, but this interest or desire to know that one has a right relationship with God is older than the Christian Church. Perhaps it is as H. C. Porter has so succinctly stated it: one may be a Calvinist in the study, but an Arminian in the pulpit. The hope of salvation is extended to all who hear.[152] Thus,

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[151] Ibid., I, 21.

[152] H. C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), p. 310.

the spirit of despair and desperation was not a fundamental mark of the religious attitude of the English Puritans that stemmed from the doctrine of election.

Inner loneliness, Weber maintained, caused men to ask the questions: "Am I of the elect?" and "How can I be sure of a state of grace?"[153] The Calvinist, Weber believed, found his answer in the pursuit of ascetic ideals within some mundane occupation.[154] A man's life in his calling was to be an exercise in ascetic virtue which was a proof of grace,[155] while the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing.[156] Labor in a calling became an absolute end in itself.[157]

D. Calling

As was indicated above, there was a vital interest among the Engligh Puritans whether they were saved or not, but this was a concern of Christians since the time of Christ. The means by which assurance of salvation came to the individual were spiritual and not material. This will be considered in a moment, for it is first necessary to ascertain

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[153] Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 125.

[154] Ibid., pp. 161-162, 178.

[155] Ibid., pp. 120-121, 161-162.

[156] Ibid., pp. 133, 172.

[157] Ibid., p. 159.

whether the English Puritans developed in the calling an idea which was new and different from the concept that existed previously. I would agree with H. M. Robertson that the idea of the calling was not new, and that it " . . . was nothing but a new expression of the old belief in the existence of divine and natural, distributive justice, a belief that different men were 'called' to their several occupations and estates by divine providence--as a result of which it was flouting providence to exhibit capitalistic enterprise!"[158] The following quotations from the writings of sixteenth and seventeenth century English Puritans illustrates this point well. No better example of this can be found than in the words of John Robinson: "When a man knows himself to be orderly called to a condition of life, he both sets himself more cheerfully and roundly to the works thereof, wherein he is assured he serves God's providence by his order and appointment."[159] Men are to serve God and others in a spirit of love no matter in what state or condition God has placed them.[160] John Hooper writes: "Unto every man is appointed his vocation; to one this, to another that; one to a private, another to a public vocation; and each of them either is lawful or

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[158]Robertson, Economic Individualism, p. 6.

[159]Robinson, Works, I, 117.

[160]Ibid., p. 118.

unlawful."[161] Unlawful vocations are those which are repugnant to the Word of God such as dicers and bawds.[162] The vocation that is lawful agrees with the Word of God; " . . . of the which St. Paul speaketh: 'In what vocation any man is called, in the same let him abide.'"[163]. It would be impossible to find the goal and spirit of Weber's calling in the writings of Paul. The verse of Robert Crowley, a zealous English Puritan printer and preacher also provides us with the same pattern of thought:

> Whoso woulde that all thynges were well,
> And woulde hymselfe be wyth out blame,
> Let hym geue eare, for I wyll tell
> The waye how to performe the same.
> Fyrste walke in thy vocation,
> And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge;
> For through wyched ambition,
> Many mens fortune hath ben straynge.[164]

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[161] Hooper, Early Writings, p. 456.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Robert Crowley, The Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (London, 1872), p. 57. Hereafter cited as Crowley, Works. Robert Crowley was an author, printer and Puritan preacher. He was born in Gloucestershire about 1518 and became a student at the university of Oxford about 1534. He received his B.A. in 1542. In 1549 he commenced printing in London; however, this did not absorb all of his energies in that he spent considerable time preaching. When Mary succeeded to the throne of Edward VI, Crowley, with other English Protestants, fled to Frankfort. He remained at Frankfort until Mary's death rendered it safe to return to England. It seems he was a very popular preacher. According to the "Introduction" to his Select Works, p. xi, Crowley was "a Puritan of the narrowest school" and was constantly engaged in controversies upon religious matters. He died in 1588 at the age of seventy. Sources for

No better evidence can be found for the traditional principle of distributive justice than in the works of William Perkins and Thomas Lever, another ardent and godly English Puritan reformer. This is how Perkins expresses it: "A vocation or calling, is a certain kinde of life, ordained and imposed on man by God, for the common good."[165] He illustrates this by saying that " . . . the life of a king is to spend his time in gouerning of his subiects, that is his calling: and the life of his subiects is to liue in obedience to the Magistrate, and this is his calling."[166] This sounds like Thomas Aquinas' view of the social order. Later Perkins writes that, "Gods calling is an action whereby he appointeth a man to some certaine condition, or state of life, in this world or after this life."[167] Man are taught therefore, " . . . to be constant in that calling whereunto God hath called vs. It is a fearfull sinne, for a man to goe backe from that calling, in which God hath placed him."[168]

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biographical note: "Introduction" to Crowley, Works. pp. ix-xxxi., DNB, XIII, 241-243.

[165] Perkins, Works, I, 750.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid., III, 105.

[168] Ibid.

In other words, men are not to seek out a vocation in which they can obtain the greatest wealth, as Weber contended, but they must abide in the calling or station in life that is ordained of God. Thomas Lever, in a "Sermon preached at Paules crosse," set forth the very same concept of the calling.

> Now let vs after thys takynge of the mynisterye of Chryste, w[h]yich perteineth generally vnto all Christians, speake of the dysposers of Gods mysteryes, wherein we maye consider seuerally euery mans vocation.
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> Paul dyd dyspose the secretes of God by the preachynge of the Gospell, which was euer secretly hydde from the wyttye, wyse, and learned in the worlde. Other men in other vocations must dyspose other treasures of God by other meanes. As the magistrate by authorytye must dyspose the punyshmente of vyce, and the mayntenaunce of vertue.
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> The rich man by liberalytye, must dyspose reliefe and comforte vnto the poore and nedye. The Marchaunt by byinge and sellynge, and the craftes man by his occupacion, must prouyde vnto the common wealthe of necessarye wares, suffyciente plentye. The landelorde by lettyng of fermes must dyspose vnto the tenants necessary lands, and houses of an indifferent rente. The housbandmen by tyllyng of the ground and kepyng of cattel, must dyspose vnto theyr landelordes, dew rentes, and vnto them selues and other, both corn, and other vytals. So euerye man by doynge of hys dutye must dyspose vnto other that commodytye and benefyte, which is committed of God vnto theym to be dysposed vnto other, by the faythful and diligent doyng of theyr dutyes.[169]

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[169] Thomas Lever, Sermons, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1870), p. 106. Hereafter cited as Lever, Sermons. Thomas Lever, a celebrated Puritan was born at Little Lever in 1521 in Lancashire. He was educated at the university of Cambridge where he graduated B.A. in 1542. He was master of St. John's College, Cambridge in the reign of Edward VI

Here one has a strong sense of responsibility not only to one's self, but to all of society. The need to live and labor in society for the welfare of all is a theme that permeates all facets of the English Puritan thinking and will be considered in greater detail later.

E. Asceticism And Labor As They Relate To The Calling

A problem closely associated with the concept of the calling was the attaining of the certainty of election by means of labor. According to Weber, the Puritan's life in his calling was an exercise in ascetic virtue, which was a proof of his state of grace. The individual was to work as hard as possible in his calling, while labor became an end in itself among the Puritans. We need to examine these assumptions. To begin with, the English Puritans were not as ascetic in their attitudes toward this world as we are led to believe, and in their writings this is quite evident. A man, argues John Dod, will have joy, comfort, and blessing in the use of his riches. He has them not only for

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and was considered one of the most eloquent preachers of his reign. Lever seems to have had a great zeal for the Protestant religion and was an exile for it during the reign of Mary. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he returned to England but not to the mastership of his college. At one time Lever seems to have been a great favorite of Elizabeth, but he eventually brought down her great wrath upon himself because of his nonconformity. He died in 1577. Sources for biographical note: DNB, XXXIII, 142-143., Neal, Puritans, I, 315-316., Brook, Lives of Puritans, I, 213-223.

necessity but also for delight, refreshing, and recreation.[170] Dod goes on to say that, "He which will be more sparing than God would have him, and niggardly when God hath laid no necessity vpon him, the curse of God will fall vpon the good thus saued, that it is all one as if they had beene spent."[171] He further argues that if an individual is unable to first show mercy to himself, how will it be possible to show mercy to others?[172] In the thinking of William Gouge, "It is good and comely for one to eat and drinke, and enioy the good of all his labour."[173] Later he writes: "Couetous misers, who so doat vpon their wealth, and so delight in abundance of goods treasured vp, as they afford not themselves things needfull to nourish and cherish their bodies."[174] The present life for the miser is irksome and filled with worry and care, and thus he is kept from quiet rest. His riches become a hindrance rather than a help to him.[175]

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[170]John Dod and R. Cleaver, A Plain and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments (London, 1628), p. 294. Hereafter cited as Dod, Ten Commandments.

[171]Ibid., p. 295.

[172]Ibid.

[173]William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties: Eight Treatises (London, 1622), p. 87. Hereafter cited as Gouge, Domestical Duties.

[174]Ibid., p. 88.

[175]Ibid.

In writing about worldly pleasure, Henry Smith composed these thoughts: "For ye may see in Eccles. ii. 24, and iii. 12 and v. 18, where Solomon speaketh of joy, and pleasure, and delight which we may take in God's creatures; and again in Ps. 15, where David saith, that as bread was made to strengthen, so wine was made to comfort the heart, that God would not only have us fed, but of his exceeding goodness he would have us cheered and comforted besides, . . . "[176] Smith asks the question as to why God created more things than men need. His answer is that God allows comfortable things as well, which are as necessary as the necessities. He concludes with the thought that all the good things which were not created for need, were created for delight.[177] In Richard Greenham's mind, Christians were neither Stoics nor Epicureans with regard to pleasure and the material world.[178]

The key to understanding the English Puritan ideal view toward pleasure and the use of the things of this world is expressed in the word moderation. Here is how Greenham puts it: "Moreover wee must learne to make a difference between a temperate and moderate vse of Gods creatures (which we call sobrietie . . .) and an vtter

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[176]Smith, Works, II, 7-8.

[177]Ibid.

[178]Greenham, Works, p. 302.

abstinence from the vse of the creatures, . . ."[179] A man may drink wine moderately and still speak wonderfully of the works of God and after eating and drinking one may utter the graces and praises of God to show that he has not immoderately abused the creatures of God.[180] At one point Joseph in the Old Testament is provided as an example of moderate drinking. Austerity is not commended for a rule of life, for if that were the case, why should there be such a diversity of tastes in meats? At the same time wine was not only given to quench the thirst of men, but also to make their hearts glad, and this is the purpose for which all other things are given. This is the reason why the Children of Israel were commanded to eat and be merry before the Lord. The same view may be gathered from the story of Christ changing the water into wine, which he would have not done, if austerity were the order of the day.[181] Asceticism to Greenham is nothing more than a trick of Satan under the color or pretense of repentance which brings many into an extreme sadness and strictness in using the things that God has given men to enjoy.[182]

William Perkins also raises the question whether

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[179] Ibid., p. 532.

[180] Ibid., p. 843.

[181] Ibid., p. 417.

[182] Ibid., p. 29.

God's blessings are to be used only for necessity? He writes: "We may vse them not only for necessitie, but also for honest delight and pleasure. Psalm 104.15. 'God giues wine to make glad the heart of man: and oyle to make his face shine.'"[183] Perkins believed that, "Gold and siluer, etc. are the gifts of God, and serued not only for necessity, but for ornament and comelinesse."[184] He indicates many legitimate uses of these in scriptures. One such legitimate use was in making of beautiful and gorgeous apparel for those to whom it belongs. This means that the rich, the nobles, and kings could lawfully wear silver, gold, silks, and ornaments of precious stones. Men are to dress according to their social position, and this is as medieval as the concept of the calling.[185] Many other examples of this non-ascetic, non-austere attitude could be provided, but these will be supplied in the section covering the English Puritan attitude toward riches and saving of wealth.

With regard to the idea of the calling can Weber substantiate the view that the English Puritan writers demanded continual effort on the job? Did work become an

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[183]Perkins, Works, I, 339.

[184]Ibid., II, 134.

[185]Ibid., III, 11. See also Ibid., II, 136.

end in itself as Weber contended? Richard Baxter expressed the view that men are not to become so encumbered with worldly business or cares of life as to have no leisure to hear from or learn of God. They are not to love business so well as to refuse to treat with the Spirit of God, who comes to offer them great pleasure.[186] Constant employment with worldly cares or business, with no leisure time for the things of God, are of the devil.[187] Communion with God is the most important activity for the Christian and not ceaseless activity in a mundane occupation. Men are to labor in some worldly trade to provide for themselves and to help others, but there is a much more important kind of labor for the English Puritans--that which brings spiritual rewards.

Richard Sibbes spells it out in the following way: "Above all labour for a spirit of humility. . . . [and] for a spirit of love."[188] He continues: "Let us labour, then, in ourselves to be full of goodness, that so we may be fitted to do good to all."[189] Men are also to labor to be holy and to be like Christ[190] and for that blessed food that

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[186]Baxter, Works, I, 9.

[187]Ibid., p. 23.

[188]Sibbes, Works, I, 399.

[189]Ibid., II, 13.

[190]Ibid., p. 22.

lasts to life eternal[191] and for faith and to have a clear understanding of the things of God and the excellency of them.[192] Individuals are to labor to have larger and larger affections to Christ,[193] to bring all our love to Him,[194] to be exemplary to others,[195] and to be full of sweetness, willingness, and abilities to be kindly and do good to others.[196] The above are the types of things for which the English Puritans were to labor, and one will seek in vain to find the spirit of labor as defined by Weber in the writings of any of the English Puritans that I have studied.

On the contrary men are not to labor "immoderately," or "inordinately," nor "unseasonably" at an earthly occupation.[197] There is no need to labor and worry constantly about acquiring the necessities of life for, "God is rich in mercy, not only to our souls, but in providing all we stand in need of."[198] Here is how William Gouge penned

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[191] Ibid., p. 35.

[192] Ibid., p. 98.

[193] Ibid., p. 126.

[194] Ibid., p. 185.

[195] Ibid., p. 132.

[196] Ibid., p. 351.

[197] Ibid., VI, 363.

[198] Ibid., VII, 198.

his thoughts about endless toil: "Such as are too intentiue vpon their business, euen the affairs of their callings (for in good things there may be excesse) herein many Students, Preachers, Lawyers, Tradesmen, Farmers, Labourers and others offend, when they afford not seasonable times of refreshing and resting to their bodies, but fast, watch, and toile too much in their calling."[199]

"Rest from labour, with the refreshing of body and minde," states William Perkins, "is necessary."[200] Men are not to have inordinate care for the things of this life, even though such necessities as meat, drink, and clothing are needed.[201] They must not worry about tomorrow, for their care must not extend itself further than the present day. The true pilgrims must not trust only in themselves for the morrow, but fix all their confidence in the mercy and providence of God, who blesseth all, and without whose goodness nothing can come to pass, do what men will.[202] Perkins quotes Psalm 55:22: "'Cast thy burden on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee.' Again, 'Be nothing carefull, but in all things let your request be shewed vnto God, in prayer and supplication with

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[199]Gouge, Domestic Duties, p. 88.

[200]Perkins, Works, I, 140.

[201]Ibid., III, 177.

[202]Ibid., 953 [recte 132].

thankesgiuing; and, Cast your care on God.'"[203] This faith, whereby men depend on God for the outcome of their labors, has an infallible foundation on which it is established, namely, that God knows men's wants, and he will give unto them all things which He in His wisdom knows to be necessary.[204] "Christ saith, 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of these things,' that is, 'food and rayment.' Againe, 'He careth for you:' and, 'Nothing shall be wanting vnto them that feare God.'"[205] Perkins argues that if men would by faith, only build their lives on these promises, " . . . they should not need like drudges of the world to foyle [toil] and spend themselves and the best part of their days in worldly cares, as they do: for they should have a greater blessing of God with lesse care, if they would trust him: and they should haue farre more time than they haue, to care for heauen and heauenly things."[206]

F. Fruits Of Labor In A Calling As A Sign Of God's Blessing

The purpose for toiling, according to Weber, was

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[203] Ibid., I, 481.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid.

to acquire riches because this is willed of God,[207] and the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing. Making money was the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith, and thus the Puritans equated election with success in their calling.[208] What do the English Puritans themselves say about these assertions? Perkins affirms that the goodness and providence of God are seen in every state, " . . . in sicknesse as in health, in want as in wealth, in persecution as in libertie and peace. . . . 'The Lord giueth, and the Lord taketh away, now blessed be the name of the Lord.'"[209] Sometimes God may even take away one grace, and put another in its place. " . . . he bereaueth his owne Children of outward prosperitie, yea he wil load them with crosses; and yet he will make a good supply by giuing patience."[210] It is pointed out that David was driven out of his kingdom by his own sons, which was a heavy cross indeed.

There is no doubt in Perkin's mind that the blessings of God are permitted to fall upon the infidels and ungodly, and thus the efforts of their hands produce riches and

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[207]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 162, 171.

[208]Ibid., pp. 53-54, 133, 172.

[209]Perkins, Works, I, 768.

[210]Ibid., p. 417.

prosperity.[211] However, " . . . the prosperity of the wicked, is like the quailes which God did send to the Israelites in the wildernesse, which brought a plague and destruction with them, for they died while the meate was yet in their mouths."[212] Temporal blessings are often given by God, then, even in His wrath.[213] "They that abound with worldly wealth, must hereby learne to become poore if they will be saued: Poore I say, not in goods, but in spirit: this indeede is hard to flesh and blood, for naturally every rich man blesseth himselfe in his outward estate and perswads himself that God loues him because he giues him wealth: but such conceits must he striue against, and learne of God to reioyce in this, that hee is made lowe."[214] Perkins states later that some people believe that if God gives them honor, a good reputation, and wealth, that He loves them; " . . . for these be signes thereof. I answer, These bee no sure tokens of his fauour in Christ, for those that be his enemies, may enioy them all."[215] King David in Psalm 73:3,7 perceived how the

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[211] Ibid., II, 128.

[212] Ibid., I, 758 [recte 766].

[213] Ibid., p. 769.

[214] Ibid., III, 5.

[215] Ibid., p. 217.

wicked flourished in their outward prosperity and had more than their hearts could wish for. However, no man should deceive himself for " . . . he that wanteth Gods fauour in Christ, is but a cursed wretch, and a firebrand of hel, though he had all the world, for outward things, at his command."[216] Material wealth, then, is of God, but his blessings are extended to the ungodly as well as to His faithful children; at the same time God's denial of temporal blessings is also a fruit of his favor.

William Gouge is as unwilling as Perkins to ascribe to the view that prosperity is an evidence of a true believer. God's love must not be measured by earthly riches for these things are also " . . . common to cast-awaies."[217] The bellies of the reprobate are filled with the abundance of outward things, yet their hearts are never filled with the love of God; as in the case of Dives. Such examples show that external conditions, such as wealth and honors, are not evidences of God's love.[218]

Richard Greenham maintains that the nature of all natural and worldly men causes them to look upon the grace

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[216] Ibid.

[217] William Gouge, The Saints Cordials (London, 1629), p. 93. Hereafter cited as Gouge, Saints Cordials.

[218] Ibid. See also Gouge, Domestic Duties, pp. 140-141.

of God with small esteem. They would rather relinquish many richer spiritual benefits and blessings than one worldly commodity. The reason for this attitude is that the want of riches annoys and troubles them more than the want of spiritual and heavenly graces, and the having of riches brings greater joy to their hearts than the burden of sin, which procures God's wrath.[219] "Such men know not that riches are no sure signes of Gods fauour, though hee in the abundance of her mercie let his Sunne shinne vpon the wicked and vpon the good: so that the hauing of riches is no argument that he loueth vs; nor the want of them is any argument of his displeasure towards vs."[220]

According to Richard Turnbull, all good gifts from God to men are the result of His favor and mercy and are not given because of any merit of the individual.[221] In other words men do not become wealthy because they are of the elect or even because they work hard. Richard Baxter maintained that God does not always prosper or bless the labors of a Christian, at which time there is a need for patience.[222] Finally, Richard Sibbes states that, "Abundance of temporal blessings is no sign that we are in

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[219]Greenham, Works, p. 61.

[220]Ibid. See also Ibid., p. 263 [recte 293].

[221]Turnbull, Epistle of James, p. 30.

[222]Baxter, Works, III, 843.

God's favour; neither are learning and knowledge evidences of spiritual grace."[223] Even the reprobate have prosperity and security;[224] consequently, these can not be a sign or evidence of election. The followers of Weber will seek in vain for the above English Puritans to write anything that smacks of proving faith by success in one's calling. If Weber had read extensively the works of the English Puritans, he would have realized that it was most difficult, if not impossible, to uphold such a view.

G. Signs Of Salvation Are Spiritual

As was stated earlier, the proofs of salvation and the signs of discipleship to Christ, in the view of the English Puritans, are spiritual and these savor little of the spirit of capitalism. Justification is by faith alone and works are of no avail. Henry Smith expressed his views on justification in the following words: "It appeareth to be a true position, that faith only doth justify, inasmuch as justification is, in the sight of God, imputed to our faith, not our works."[225] Thomas Goodwin composed his thoughts on the problem in this manner: God has accepted men " . . . through his Son, and forgives us our sins

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[223]Sibbes, Works, V, 269.

[224]Ibid., III, 176.

[225]Smith, Works, II, 441.

through his merits; it is free grace. Thou art bought without any of thy money; it is free to thee."[226]

It is a sin and damnable error, in Baxter's mind, to trust to anything save God and Jesus Christ for one's salvation.[227] "You must not dream that they [works] can do anything to the Satisfaction of God's Justice for your sins; nor that they have any proper Merit in them, so as for their worth to oblige God to reward you; nor that you must bring them as a Price to purchase Christ or Heaven."[228] Again Baxter stresses the idea of salvation in Christ alone when he states: "Be sure that you renounce all conceit of self-sufficiency or merit in any thing you do, and wholly rely on the Lord Jesus Christ, as your Head and Life, and Saviour, and Intercessor with the Father."[229]

To William Perkins the doctrine of justification by works, " . . . is a doctrine that maintaines idolatry; for if they iustifie, we may put our trust in them: and if we put our confidence in them, wee make idols of them."[230] Justification, however, is a work of God in which He " . . . absolueth a sinner, and accepteth him to life

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[226]Goodwin, Works, I, 126.

[227]Baxter, Works, III, 606.

[228]Ibid., II, 893.

[229]Ibid., I, 19.

[230]Perkins, Works, II, 285.

euerlasting for the righteousness and merit of Christ. . . . iustification is from Gods meere mercie and grace, procured only by the merits of Christ."[231] Later, he again states with great emphasis that Christ is the root and fountain head of all merit. It is Christ who is the mediator and redeemer of all men.[232] Perkins continues: "We renounce all personall merits, that is, all merits within the person of any meere man. And we renounce all merit of workes, that is, al merit of any worke done by any meere man whatsoeuer."[233]

Richard Sibbes struck out against what he called man's flattery of himself by trusting in carnal wisdom for salvation.[234] "Away with the conceit of merit! If we merit not daily bread, if we merit not outward deliverance, if we merit not health, what can we do for eternal life?"[235] There is no salvation apart from Christ. There are no promises, life, comfort, or light apart from Him.[236] However, "This is our comfort and confidence, that God accepts

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[231] Ibid., I, 568.

[232] Ibid., p. 574.

[233] Ibid., p. 575.

[234] Sibbes, Works, III, 288.

[235] Ibid., p. 191.

[236] Ibid., p. 418.

us, because he accepts his beloved; and when he shall cease to love Christ, he shall cease to love the members of Christ."[237]

It has not been my intent to prove that works of love and charity were not stressed by the English Puritans, for they were, and this problem will be dealt with later; however, justification before God was by grace through faith in Christ, and grace was freely bestowed of God without works or labor in a calling. Works do not produce faith or assurance of election. The idea was emphasized earlier that the English Puritan religion was not as cold and devoid of comforts as Weber contended. Neither did the Puritans look upon the doctrine of election with fear and dread as Weber maintained. Consequently, there was not the great desire or need for assurance. Once again, this is not to say there were not some who had doubts about salvation, but " . . . these appear to have come only from the hypersensitive and were thus not an important part of the normal English Puritan life, . . ."[238]

When the English Puritan pastors found it necessary to provide counsel with regard to assurance (and I might stress once again that this concern for evidence of salvation

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[237] Ibid., I, 11-12.

[238] Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 394.

was not peculiar to the English Puritans) various means were used and different criteria were established to provide assurance and to give evidence of a true believer in Christ. The apprehension of Christ is not done by physically touching Him in any manner, " . . . but spiritually by assurance, which is, when the elect are perswaded in their hearts by the holy Ghost, of the forgiuenesse of their owne sinnes, and of Gods infinite mercy toward them in Iesus Christ."[239] The method used of God in the " . . . begetting of faith is this. First, he prepareth the heart that it may bee capable of faith. Secondly, he causeth faith by litle and litle to spring and to breed in the heart."[240] Assurance comes, then, if men will but wait on God and trust in Him.

Perkins reduces the problem of the acquisition of faith to its lowest common denominator, for the very desire for faith indicates that God is working. An excellent example of this in Perkins' eyes was one Master Chambers of Leicester who became ill and, despairing of his soul, cried out that he was damned. Soon after this he died. However, it is not right for any one to cast upon Master Chambers the black mark of reprobation.[241] One particular

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[239] Perkins, Works, I, 363.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid., p. 418.

thing which he spoke in his hour of despair, " . . . (O that I had but one drop of faith) must mooue all men to conceiue well of him. For by this it seems that hee had an heart which desired to repent and beleeue; and therefore a repentant and beleeuing heart indeed."[242]

The most important sources of assurance of salvation for Perkins, and for most of the English Puritans I have studied, would come by at least four means--faith in Christ,[243] by the Word of God,[244] by the testimony of the Holy Spirit,[245] and by the testimony of our conscience which has been sanctified and renewed by the Spirit of God.[246] Several references could be given for each of these from the works of William Perkins, and the same sources of assurance will also appear in the writings of other English Puritans.

William Gouge accepted as true the view that a person can be certain that he is a Child of God. He states: "The true beleeuer may know that hee hath a true and sound faith."[247] The proofs, once again, are spiritual, as with

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[242] Ibid., p. 419.

[243] Ibid., p. 80.

[244] Ibid., III, 382.

[245] Ibid., I, 429.

[246] Ibid., II, 19.

[247] Gouge, Works, II, 115.

Perkins. Proofs begin with true spiritual grief, which works a desire for faith; faith in turn works kindly and brings forth proper fruits.[248] Enlightened grief for sin and saving faith come to man by hearing the Word of God preached. This sorrow for sin and a desire for God's mercy will eventually bring men to Christ and then to an assurance of saving faith.[249]

Thomas Goodwin asserts that the believers can have assurance but not in the way that Weber thought. Assurance comes because there are three witnesses to the fact in heaven and on earth. In heaven, "' . . . the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water and the blood and these three agree in one.'"[250] All external efforts cannot produce faith.[251]

Richard Greenham particularly stressed the idea that the Word of God[252] and the witness of the Holy Spirit[253] provide assurance of salvation. Of the four means of attaining assurance of salvation, or election, mentioned

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[248]Ibid., p. 121.

[249]Ibid., pp. 107-110.

[250]Goodwin, Works, VIII, 360.

[251]Ibid., p. 486.

[252]Greenham, Works, pp. 36, 101, and 760.

[253]Ibid., pp. 248, 260, and 766.

earlier, I would judge that the Word of God and the witness of the Holy Spirit are most prominent and occur again and again throughout the works that have been investigated.

John Hooper provides a strong argument that the Scriptures are the means of assurance when he writes, " . . . that this justifying faith is a mere and singular gift of God, the which is commonly given by the hearing of God's word, . . ."[254] Hooper continues:

> I call a justifying faith a certain assurance and ernest persuasion of the good-will, love, grace, bounteousness, and mercy of God toward us, whereby we are assured and veryly persuaded in our hearts of the mercy, favour, and good-will of God the Father; that he is on our side and for us against all that are against us, and that he will be a merciful Father unto us, pardoning our sins, and will give us his grace, make us his children by adoption, and admit us for heirs unto eternal life; and all this freely in his Son, and by his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and not for our merits or good works.[255]

There were certain criteria, as was suggested earlier, that helped to indicate that the individual had attained true faith in Christ. These, however, in no way help to substantiate Weber's contentions regarding certainty of election in a secular calling. The spirit of Christian fruits as propounded by the English Puritans provided no basis on which to build a spirit of capitalism as was described in the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

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[254]Hooper, Later Writings, p. 59. See also John Dod, Ten Commandments, pp. 49-50.

[255]Ibid.

William Gouge upheld the idea that, "It were an infinite task to reckon up all the fruits of Faith. For all the seuerall and distinct branches of piety and charity, if they be rightly performed are fruits of Faith."[256] However, he classifies them under two headings; they are a quiet conscience and a clear conscience. These result in peace of mind, spiritual joy of the heart, love for God, love for our brothers, and a pure heart.[257]

The signs of regeneration as put forward by William Perkins follow the same pattern established by Gouge and are similar to the kinds of fruits that were spoken of by most of the writers that have been considered. Perkins would list them as--a true compunction of conscience for our sins, a godly sorrow as well as grief of heart for offending and displeasing God by our transgressions, an earnest desire or spiritual hunger for Christ and His righteousness, and a turning from sin unto God with an obedient heart. These are the marks of a new creature in Christ, who has a true title to the kingdom of God.[258] Justification brings peace and quietness of conscience, an entrance into God's favor, spiritual joy, and the shedding

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[256]Gouge, Works, II, 21.

[257]Ibid., pp. 121-126.

[258]Perkins, Works, III, 192.

of God's love throughout the heart of the faithful by the Holy Ghost. By his justification the individual is given inward assurance that he is accepted of God as His own child.[259] Perkins later quotes St. Paul as saying, "'If we liue in the spirit wee must walke in the spirit, . . . [and] those that have the gifts of the spirit must be trees of righteousnesse bringing forth the fruits of the spirit, . . .'"[260]

There are nine principal fruits which Perkins elaborates upon at some length. The first is love, which has respect for both God and man. The second is the kind of joy which makes a man glad because of the good fortune of his neighbor as well as his own. The third fruit of the spirit is peace, while the fourth is long-suffering. The fifth fruit is gentleness, whereby a man behaves and shows himself friendly and courteous to all others in society. The sixth fruit is goodness, which is when a person is willing to do good and become serviceable to all men, at all times, upon all occasions. The seventh fruit of the spirit is faith, and the eighth is meekness, which is a notable grace of God, because when an individual

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[259] Ibid., I, 368-369.

[260] Ibid., p. 274.

is provoked by injury, he does not seek to revenge himself. The last fruit of the spirit is temperance.[261]

Richard Sibbes mentioned the spirit of prayer as a token of whether a person was a true follower of Christ.[262] He would also support all of the foregoing signs of regeneration as do all the English Puritan writers that I have studied. Richard Greenham sums up the whole problem quite well when he states: "The righteousness of Christ Iesus, with the peace of conscience, ioy in the holie Ghost, vertue, faith, knowledge, temperance, patience, godlinesse, brotherly kindnesse, loue, these bee sure gages, seales, and pledges vnto vs, of our entrance into the kingdome of God, and therefore most excellent Treasures."[263]

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[261] Ibid., pp. 274-276.

[262] Sibbes, Works, III, 456. See also Perkins, Works, I, 284.

[263] Greenham, Works, p. 99.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS THE BASIS OF THE PURITANS' SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS

A. Social Views

It must be kept in mind that as in the case of John Calvin the social and economic ideas of the English Puritans that will be considered in this study were determined by their religious convictions which were based upon the teaching of the Scriptures. This influence of Holy Writ in the writing of these men can be found on nearly every page and is conspicuous in all of their statements with regard to the life of the Christian man in his social environment to which the focus of this paper now turns.

Weber argued that because the Puritan religion was carried on in deep spiritual isolation, it produced a disillusioned and pessimistically inclined individualism. The English Puritan developed a negative attitude toward all sensuous and emotional elements in culture and in religion.[1] This, however, was not the case as has already been seen in the previous chapter. Weber, further, maintained

[1]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 105-107.

that because of this strong individualism and lack of emotion, and because the elect are in the world only to increase the glory of God, the social activity of the Christian in the world assumed a peculiarly objective and impersonal character. There was no real concern or love for others in society because love can only be practiced for the glory of God. Weber also argued that the Calvinists' relationship with God was carried on in deep spiritual isolation which caused him to think only of how he, himself, might attain his heavenly goal. Consequently, one of the charges that has been leveled at English Puritanism is that it was so preoccupied with the salvation of the individual that it ignored or had no real interest in the needs of society as a whole.[2] These allegations need to be examined.

The English Puritans recognized the fact that individual man, as a part of the human race, was bound together in some kind of social order with responsibilities toward other people. The recognition of the need for social welfare and justice has already been considered with regard to distributive justice in the English Puritan concept of the calling. This idea with regard to the calling needs to be reemphasized and expanded upon because it shows that the English Puritans did have a genuine concern

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[2] Ibid., pp. 105-109.

for the needs of all people in society. Let us listen as they themselves speak. In writing about the calling, Richard Baxter argues that the principal considerations with regard to a vocation are the service of God and the public good.[3] Again he states that a child of God " . . . is faithful and laborious in his particular Calling, and that not out of a covetous Mind; but in Obedience to God, and that he may maintain his Family, and be able to do good to others."[4] Richard Sibbes penned these sentiments: "If it falls within our callings, let us do justice and shew mercy."[5] Richard Greenham wished, " . . . that euery man would search his own heart whereunto in affection and action hee is most seruiceable to God, and profitable to his brethren, and to pursue specially this gift most carefully and continually, yet without pride in all humilitie."[6]

One of the most prolific writers with regard to the calling was William Perkins. "Whosoever imploy their callings principally for the purchasing of their profits, pleasures, honours, and not for the good of men, they abuse their callings, prophane their liues, and mistake the

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[3]Baxter, Works, I, 357.

[4]Ibid., II, 986.

[5]Sibbes, Works, II, 97.

[6]Greenham, Works, p. 294.

proper ende of them: as though they were borne onely to live vnto themselues, and serue themselues, and neither God nor man besides."[7] The main end of every calling is the common good, " . . . that is, for the benefite and good estate of mankinde."[8] Perkins again states: "Now all societies of men are bodies; a family is a bodie, and so is every particular Church a bodie, and the common-wealth also: and in these bodies there be seueral members, which are men walking in seueral callings and offices, the execution whereof, must tend to the happy and good estate of the rest; yea of all men every where, as much as possible is."[9] The common good of all men depends on this, not only that they live, but that they live well, in righteousness and holiness, and, consequently, in true happiness.[10] Even the laws of nature teach that the works of a calling must be profitable, not only to the doers, but to the commonwealth.[11] So then, the person abuses his calling, no matter who he is, if he employs it only for himself and not the common good; "And that common saying, 'Euery man

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[7]Perkins, Works, III, 582.

[8]Ibid., I, 751.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., p. 764.

for himselfe, and God for vs all,' is wicked, and is directly against the end of euery calling, or honest kinde of life."[12] Perkins looks upon the calling as an instrument of mercy to others, and in doing the duties thereof one can show forth compassion toward them.[13] Weber once again has certainly misjudged or misinterpreted the motives for and the goals of the calling.

Weber's charge that the English Puritans sought to glorify God only by a mechanical and impersonal love also needs to be examined. Richard Baxter provides a major example as to how the English Puritans sought to bring glory and honor to their Maker: " . . . it Glorifieth God and our Religion when Christians Live in greater Joy, or at least greater Contentedness and Peace than other men."[14] Again, he states that the rule of love in the hearts of the followers of Christ, " . . . appearing in all the Course of their Liues, doth much Glorifie God and Their Religion: I mean a common hearty Loue to all Men, . . . "[15] Baxter also maintains that humility, meekness, and patience of Christians are greatly necessary in glorifying God.[16]

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[12] Ibid., p. 751.

[13] Ibid., III, 13. See also Ibid., I, 481.

[14] Baxter, Works, IV, 821.

[15] Ibid., p. 822.

[16] Ibid., p. 825.

Even good works have a place in this, but not the impersonal, secular works described by Weber and certainly not the work of making money.[17] "If you will glorifie God in your liues, you must be above a selfish, private, narrow mind, and must be chiefly intent upon the publick good, and the spread of the Gospel through the world."[18] God is honored and glorified when men do not defraud their brothers and justice is provided for all.[19]

There is not the restless individualism that has no true love or only a mechanical concern for others in the writings of the English Puritans either. God is the hiding place of men from everlasting to everlasting. He is a comfort in all dangers, and a Christian knows that he shall be safe either here on earth or in heaven; and, therefore, he rests.[20] The Christian "' . . . dwells in the secret place of the Almighty;' Ps. xci.1, that is in the love and protection of God Almighty; . . . What a blessed estate then is it to be in Christ, . . . "[21] Fortified with the knowledge of the love and protection of his

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[17] Ibid., p. 827.

[18] Ibid., I, 143.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Sibbes, Works, III, 398.

[21] Ibid.

Maker, the English Puritan could go forth with confidence, not only to serve and glorify God, but to help his fellow men. The English Puritan could also go forth with aplomb because he was a member of the Universal Church and a part of the communion of the saints, both of which help to promote the idea of unity within the Christian community.

The common bonds among the English Puritans were Christ and the Church. Men were to follow Christ's example, as many had been attempting to do for hundreds of years. Richard Sibbes writes: "We cannot have a better pattern than to be like him [Christ] by whom we all hope to be saved another day."[22] Men ought daily to imitate Christ in doing good to all. They should labor to have large hearts in order to help others abundantly and unwearily in all seasons.[23] We are to imitate God in His great love for our brothers as children imitate their parents.[24] The question of course arises, "Who is my brother or neighbor?" Here is one answer, "Our neighbour is euery one, which is of our flesh."[25] Later when writing about the responsibilities that individuals have toward those about them, Perkins writes: "By neighbor, we must

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[22]Ibid., I, 369.

[23]Ibid., VII, 198.

[24]Goodwin, Works, VII, 242-243.

[25]Perkins, Works, I, 49.

not vnderstand onely those that are neere vnto vs in habitation, but euen all those that are of the same nature with vs, euen any of mankind. He is thy neighbour, that is a man as thou art."[26] Richard Greenham contends that his neighbor is, "Euery one that is neere me and standeth in neede of my help, and it lieth in me to help him, . . . "[27]

In speaking about a common brotherhood and why Christian men are brethren, Sibbes writes that they all have the same beginning of life from the same Father, as well as the same brother, that is Christ. They also have the same womb, which is the Church. They have the same food, the Word of God; the same promises, and all are heirs with an inheritance.[28] Put another way the question could be asked, "Wherein does the communion of the saints consist?" Baxter answers that it consists in a common love to God, faith in Christ, and sanctification by the Spirit. It also consists in the love Christians have for one another, in the care for the welfare of all, in love which makes all goods common to all to the extent that wants are supplied in the order and measure that God's

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[26] Ibid., III, 310.

[27] Greenham, Works, p. 242.

[28] Sibbes, Works, V, 57.

providence demands, and in the desire to relieve the necessities of others before their own fullness.[29] Perkins states, " . . . euery Christian man that acknowledgeth this communion [of the saints], must carrie about with him a fellow-feeling, that is an heart touched with compassion in regard of all the miseries that befall either the whole Church or any member thereof, as Christ our head teacheth vs by his own example, . . . "[30]

God has knit human society together by the bond of love and men should seek the good and comfort of those about them.[31] This love and concern for others is not the cold, impersonal, and machine-like attitude described by Weber. "The manner of louing, is so to loue our neighbour as our selves, to wit, truly, and sincerely; . . ."[32] Again Perkins writes: "Now the square of all our actions, must bee the word of God: and Gods word gives this direction: Do thou to thy neighbour as thou in thy reason and conscience thinkest he should do thee, if thou wert in his case, and he in thine."[33] Richard Sibbes admonishes his people that the source of all duty is sincere love, and

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[29]Baxter, Works, IV, 85.

[30]Perkins, Works, I, 311-312.

[31]Sibbes, Works, III, 68-69.

[32]Perkins, Works, I, 49.

[33]Ibid., III, 177.

this is what animates, quickens, and enlivens all duties. He warns them, however, to take heed of sinning against sincerity and to do nothing in hypocrisy.[34] There was to be no dead formality in considering and caring for those in society that needed aid. There is good reason why Sibbes warned men against insincerity and hypocrisy, for the English Puritans did not believe that one should live according to the spirit of Weber, but they taught that God cannot be deceived and is not mocked, for whatever an individual sows that shall he also reap.[35] The English Puritans were not willing to believe that their religion was something that one puts on for Sunday, thus leaving the individual to live like the devil the rest of the week. Love is the law of Christ, and this means that we are to sincerely desire to bear one another's burdens.[36]

The English Puritan writers realized that their thoughts were idealized and that the natural order of things as originally established by God had been perverted and corrupted by sin. Because of this sin there were those people in a community that had perverted hearts

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[34]Sibbes, Works, III, 251.

[35]Perkins, Works, II, 283 [recte 282].

[36]Ibid., p. 361.

and would not conform to the law of love; consequently, there is the need for a form of civil government. The Westminster Confession of Faith states that God, Himself, who is King of all the world has ordained civil magistrates to be subordinate to Him in order to rule over the people for His own glory and the public good.[37] Every man, then, should submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers of the land because they are appointed by God, and no one in the country ought to be privileged or exempt from the obedience to rulers. The higher powers are not only kings and emperors, but all who are appointed to any public office by a king or any other type of executive officeholder. Men are to follow the example of Christ and his apostles who paid tribute and other duties unto the higher powers of the earth. Everyone who is unwilling to accept their examples is damnable and heretical, because he is resisting the ordinances of God.[38]

God has armed the rulers with the power of the sword in order to defend and encourage those who do good and to restrain and punish evil-doers.[39] Those who resist, such as Absalom when he prevailed against his father David,

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[37]Schaff, Creeds, III, 652.

[38]Hooper, Later Writings, pp. 101-105.

[39]Schaff, Creeds, III, 652.

shall provoke God's judgment and vengeance and shall perish. If God's Word is true, all those who seek to resist higher authority and create a disturbance in society must be punished. Men are not only not to resist the civil government, but they are to have a positive attitude toward it. Individuals, for instance, are to pray continually and with great earnestness for the spiritual and corporal welfare of their government.[40] They are to be ready to defend their government against all treasons, conspiracies, and rebellions. They must be willing, without murmuring, to pay the necessary taxes which provide for the common safety and uphold the honor of the government. Men are to swear allegiance to their lawful rulers[41] and are to obey the laws.[42]

Although men must respect their civil magistrates and be willing to perform positive functions in their behalf, this was not to say that the rulers were to do as they please and exercise their authority only for their own interest or for those who were relatives or close friends. Kings and emperors in their realms may make as many laws as they desire and even change them at their

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[40]Baxter, Works, I, 735.

[41]Ibid., p. 739.

[42]Schaff, Creeds, III, 654.

pleasure as often as they see the need of change for the wealth and benefit of the land. However, all Christian kings, with other civil magistrates, should reign and be directed by one law, this is the law of God, with the Bible as the basis of its authority. The law of God was the guide for David's rule, and so it is commanded in Job 22, that rulers are to learn the law from the mouth of God.[43] Hooper, later again states: "It is . . . the office of every magistrate to learn how to reign over the people by the law of God, and to desire wisdom of him, to know and follow the things that appertain to the ministration of the commonwealth."[44] There are positive fruits that are yielded to the social order by a well-regulated government. These are a peaceful life, for magistrates are armed with the sword, in order to keep men in peace; justice is provided for all, and piety is maintained. It is of interest to note that the civil magistrate is urged to foster piety, and it was his duty to preserve order, unity and peace in the Church in order that the truth of God could be kept pure, blasphemies and heresies suppressed, and all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline

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[43]Hooper, Early Writings, p. 280.

[44]Ibid., p. 365.

prevented or reformed; however, he could not assume any authority over the administration of the Word or Sacraments.[45]

The superior powers should show love and mercy for their subjects and provide the means by which people can make their voice of complaint heard.[46] Thus, the English Puritans saw the state as an institution established of God for the good of society as a whole.

This brings us to another important point: if complaint in England by the Puritans against social abuses, economic and political corruption, and injustice is any indication of their concern for social justice and the welfare of the commonwealth as a whole, then they certainly do not fit the cold, individual, mechanical attitude patterns toward others that Weber described.[47] They, once again, recognized that, "God hath made man a social creature; and hath not only ordained several societies, in which persons are to unite themselves for their mutual welfare, but withal so dispensed his blessings, as that no man is so barren, but hath something wherewith to profit others: nor any so furnished, but that he stands need of others to

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[45]Schaff, Creeds, III, 652.

[46]Hooper, Early Writings, p. 357.

[47]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 105-109.

supply his wants."[48] The less a person needs help in society because of his abundance and ability, the more others stand in need of him and his plenty. Everyone has a need of others.[49] Doing good to others is the thing for which men are created, redeemed, and sanctified, and the common good is better than the advantage of one individual.[50]

Thus the English Puritans struck out at the social abuses and injustices of their day. Among those who practice injustice in a kingdom, according to William Perkins, are emperors and princes that seek the lands of other rulers by fraud or violence, magistrates that are bribed, lawyers who take larger fees than the laws of the country and conscience allow, physicians that attempt to diagnose sickness with little or no evidence, merchants with false weights and measure and who engage in all manner of wicked dealing, the landlords who rack rents, take excessive fines, enclose grounds that have been a part of the commons for centuries; farmers and speculators who hoard grain in order to make large profits, and printers that publish libels and heresy.[51]

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[48]Robinson, Works, I, 157.

[49]Ibid., p. 158.

[50]Baxter, Works, IV, 858.

[51]Perkins, Works, I, 770-771.

A Puritan Divine from Lincoln, Anthony Gilby, in considering the social and religious abuses in Samaria and Jerusalem criticized those of his own day by saying that the destruction of those cities was for an example to later generations and men should fear to follow in their steps.[52] He later contends that the rulers must one day answer for the sins (social and religious abuses) of the people.[53]

Thomas Lupton, another English Puritan writer, scourged with words, the social problems of his time. He maintained that mercy and pity toward others in society is a prime factor in the life of a Christian as he walks the path to heaven.[54] Rich men are wicked fools if they

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[52]Anthony Gilby, A Commentary Upon the Prophet Mycha (London, 1551), sig. A, fol. v, vi. Anthony Gilby was a Puritan born in Lincolnshire; however, the date of his birth is not known. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge where he graduated B.A. in 1532. Upon leaving the university, he entered the ministry and joined the ranks of the reformers. During the reign of Mary, Gilby was forced to flee England with his wife and children. He took refuge at Frankfort and Geneva. Returning to England, he acquired many influential friends, the chief of which was Henry, earl of Huntington. Gilby became one of the most fierce and fiery opposers of the established Church discipline in England and is considered to have been one of the most learned and celebrated divines of his day. He died in 1585. Sources for biographical note: DNB, XXI, 339-340., and Fuller, Worthies, II, 67.

[53]Ibid., sig. B, fol. viii.

[54]Thomas Lupton, A Dreame of the Diuell and Diues (London, 1589), sig. C, fol. iv. Hereafter cited as Lupton, Dreame. Thomas Lupton was a miscellaneous Puritan writer. The

do not relieve the needy in society.[55] He complained bitterly about landlords who racked rents and levied heavy fines to the degree that many tenants were not able to renew their leases, and thus their wives and children lived poorly or were driven to beg for a living.[56] The gold and silver of lawyers who defend wrong and hinder justice will plead against them in the day of judgment.[57] Those " . . . Judges that will be bribed, or defend a false matter, shall be sure at the last day, to haue such a true and upright Judge, that will not be bribed by any means, and that will judge them so uprightly, against whome their own oath shall rise, and bee a witnesse, that they shall be condemned to remain with me [Dives] in hell for euer."[58] Dainty dames, with fingers covered with expensive gold rings, who look down with disdain upon the poor soul lying naked in the street, shivering with cold, and almost dead with hunger, are denounced with great vehemence. They

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biographical material is scanty with regard to his life. The DNB provides a long list of his works with some being described as "strongly puritanical in sentiment." His most productive years seem to have been around 1583. Sources for biographical material: DNB, XXXIV, 287-288., and Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 409.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., sig. C, fol. vi.

[57] Ibid., sig. D, fol. i.

[58] Ibid.

will let the poor man die a miserable death rather than give to him one of the worst rings that they have.[59]

A full-throated complaint is also uttered by Richard Turnbull against social injustice and oppression. He finds it most unfortunate for society that the ideals pursued by the saints as members of the body of Christ are often challenged by evil men who seek only riches and power. Once these are attained, then they oppress the poor by tyranny. The lowly are oppressed by tyranny in various ways--when they are imprisoned, when persecuted, by deceitful dealings in trade, by usury, exactions, impositions, and all manner of extortion. Finally, rich men oppress the poor when they weary and waste their bodies with hard labor which they refuse to reward.[60] More will be said about this last point later. In contrast to the oppression of the wicked, Turnbull believes that the Christian has a social responsibility toward his fellow man and must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and help and comfort the sick and needy.[61]

If complaints and clamor against social abuses are effective tools for forcing governments to remedy

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[59] Ibid., sig. G, fol. i.

[60] Turnbull, Epistle of James, pp. 101-102.

[61] Ibid., pp. 120-125.

certain ills, it must also be kept in mind that the English Puritans were unwilling to hold the corrupted natural order in check only by a strong state. Society was to be reformed or re-created as a result of Christ's death upon the cross. Thus, a common bond is to exist among men in the person of Christ. Christ is the model after which men are to pattern their lives. The re-created brethren were to be bound together in Christ as a part of the Church. Christ is the head of the Church and Christians are members of his body. The law of love is to be the rule to guide men in their relationships to others. There is to be no room for worldly advantage for one at the expense of someone else. There is no difference between the rich and the poor, between the high and the low in the sight of God. God will take vengeance on the unjust who cruelly oppress those who are under them socially and economically. The question could be raised, "Are not the kinds of social complaints that have been mentioned in this chapter characteristic of the age as a whole?" The answer would be "yes". This would indicate that the Puritans had as genuine a sympathy for the needs of the entire social order as many other of their countrymen. It is evident from the many preceding statements taken from the works of the English Puritans that they saw clearly the need to work for the welfare of all members of society. It is also apparent

that the need for social service as a part of the Christian life sprang from a warm and sympathetic heart and bore not the cold and impersonal character as was described by Max Weber.

It is now necessary to turn the focus of this paper to the economic views of the English Puritans to see if the same spirit of concern for the welfare of all of society can be found there.

B. Economic Views

Weber asserted that the English Puritans stressed the idea of laboring hard in an earthly calling, for only activity brought glory to God,[62] and a man's life in his calling is an exercise in ascetic virtue--a proof of his state of grace.[63] Men were to toil in order to acquire wealth because this is an expression of virtue[64] and is willed of God,[65] and the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing,[66] while the making of money became the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine

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[62]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 157-160.

[63]Ibid., pp. 141, 153, 161.

[64]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[65]Ibid., p. 171.

[66]Ibid., pp. 133, 163.

faith.[67] Money was to be gained, but it was not to be enjoyed.[68] The Puritans, said Weber, became obsessed with the idea of thrift and hard work, for riches were not only to be gained but also spent only for the glory of God.[69] Eventually, the aspiration to make money became an end in itself to which people were bound as a calling.[70]

The Westminster Shorter Catechism of 1647 asks the question, "What is the chief end of man?" The answer is that man "is to glorify God and enjoy him forever."[71] It has been shown previously that the means by which the English Puritans sought to glorify God was much different from the means set forth by Max Weber. The ideal of the English Puritan was that by the help of the Holy Spirit men should be raised to holiness of life and thereby glorify God.[72] This approach to living leaves little or no room in the English Puritan way of thinking for a secular, individualistic, non-Christian attitude toward wealth and the desire for riches as is presented by Weber.

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[67] Ibid., pp. 172, 178.

[68] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

[69] Ibid., p. 170.

[70] Ibid., pp. 48-52.

[71] Schaff, Creeds, III, 676.

[72] Sibbes, Works, I, 18.

As was indicated earlier, the English Puritans believed that riches came from God, but this is not to say that man received wealth because of any merit. They are the result of His mercy and goodness.[73] In speaking of riches and prosperity, Hooper states that God gives them, and they are not gotten because of labor and pain.[74] Later he states that " . . . every man receiveth at God's hand his goods and parcels thereof, and not by fortune, or his own travail."[75] If riches come not because of man's own labor or travail, there is little reason to toil in the calling to the extent that Weber states. If riches are acquired from God and not for merit or labor, it is important to note once again that they are not obtained as a sign of God's special love, for He provides for the wicked as well, and wealth is as common to them as to the Christians.[76] " . . . God fills their [the wicked] bellies with abundance of outward things, whose hearts he never fills with love; as in Diues: . . . look on such instances: what tend they to do, but to shew that these outward things are no euidence of Gods loue?"[77]

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[73]Turnbull, Epistle of James, p. 30.

[74]Hooper, Early Writings, pp. 302-303.

[75]Ibid., pp. 387-388.

[76]Gouge, The Saints Cordials, p. 93.

[77]Ibid.

In general in the English Puritan mind all worldly wealth, riches, pomp, and glory are vain and uncertain and are easily removed and perish quickly.[78] Richard Bernard, a Puritan Divine of Nottinghamshire and graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, states that the rich must remember that worldly wealth and prosperity are unstable, mutable, uncertain,[79] transitory, and vain.[80] John Dod maintained that worldly riches are uncertain possessions, and a wise man will do good with his wealth, and distribute it for the good of his neighbors who are in need.[81] The men of the world, according to Richard Sibbes, labor all their lives for fruit, riches, and friends, but when they die, their earthly wealth and social standing fails

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[78]Turnbull, Epistle of James, p. 30.

[79]Richard Bernard, The Readyway to Good Works, Or A Treatise of Charitie (London, 1635), p. 26. Hereafter cited as Bernard, Good Works. Richard Bernard, a Puritan divine, was born about 1567 in Nottinghamshire. As a young man of natural ability he was taken under the patronage of the Countess of Warwick who sent him to Christ's College, Cambridge where he received his B.A. in 1595 and his M.A. in 1598. Having finished his academic pursuits at Cambridge, he became vicar of Worshop in Nottinghamshire. In 1613 Bernard became the minister of Batcombe where he continued to preach and write until his death in 1641. According to the DNB, he was a Puritan in doctrine, and in practice a nonconformist. He carried Puritan ideals to an extreme length, going to the very verge of separatism. Sources for the biographical note: DNB, IV, 386-387., and Brook, Lives of the Puritans, II, 459-462.

[80]Richard Bernard, The Contemplative Pictures With Wholesome Precepts (London, 1610), p. 9.

[81]Dod, Ten Commandments, p. 296.

them. Why is this the case? Because they labored for that which yields only vexation and death. The Christian does otherwise in that he seeks for grace and comfort to keep his communion and peace with God.[82] To Richard Baxter riches are deceitful and prosperity is vain, while worldly cares are pernicious.[83]

The brevity and vanity of such worldly enticements as glory and pleasure are so evident that they can be of no great value.[84] If they are so unenduring and valueless, it would seem strange to seek them as an end in themselves. John Robinson also evinces his belief in the vanity of riches, and the uncertainty of their intrinsic value when he writes, "The world and all things serving for this life, we ought to use with a kind of indifferancy, and without setting the affections of our hearts upon it, or them, how busy soever our hands be about them: spiritual things, on the contrary, and which concern our eternal happiness, we ought to use, as using them indeed, with all ernest bent of affection upon them."[85]

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[82] Sibbes, Works, I, 408.

[83] Baxter, Works, I, 207.

[84] Ibid., p. 4.

[85] Robinson, Works, I, 120.

The English Puritans were not against riches as such because of an over-powering asceticism as was mentioned previously. Richard Sibbes states: "'All is ours;' and therefore with good conscience we may use God's bounty."[86] Richard Baxter argued that men are to use the material riches of the world but not abuse them. Men should not labor with a desire to be rich, yet they must labor to give to him that is in need.[87] Again Baxter states: "All love of the creature, the world, or riches is not sin."[88] Men, however, are not to set up riches in their hearts as an idol and thereby deny or depose God as Lord of their life. Having a sinful love of riches in the heart is to seek a wrong end and is to desire God's gifts for an end and use which are contrary to that for which they were made and given. The sin of covetousness is worse than fornication, drunkenness, murder, swearing, perjuring, lying, and stealing.[89]

Perhaps one major consideration with regard to understanding the English Puritan attitude toward riches and material wealth is the proper use of them. Weber would give the impression that money was to be constantly

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[86]Sibbes, Works, IV, 18.

[87]Baxter, Works, III, 449-450.

[88]Ibid., I, 203.

[89]Ibid., pp. 203-204.

accumulated, and it became an end in itself.[90] This, however, was not the case, for wealth was to be used; it was to be made an instrument of mercy and bounty.[91] In other words the life of faith in Christ orders men's prosperity. Faith causes individuals to think about riches as they are set forth in the Word of God. They are not to abuse the blessings bestowed on them nor be puffed up by them. The things of this world are to be used to relieve the needs of others.[92]

William Perkins composed the following thoughts on the right use of riches: "We must seeke to have Christ, and to be in him iustified and sanctified: and being in him, then shall we in him and by him, haue the holy vse of all that we haue."[93] Abundance of possessions is for the maintaining of one's own estate and condition and for the good of others, for the relief of the poor, and the support of the Church of God and true religion.[94] "'Honour God with thy riches,' saith Solomon, and that is done

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[90]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 48-52.

[91]Sibbes, Works, V, 134.

[92]Ibid., p. 378.

[93]Perkins, Works, I, 128.

[94]Ibid., II, 128.

especially, when they are employed to the maintaining and furthering of true religion, and the worshippe of God."[95] The affluent are " . . . to help the fatherless, to defend widows, to comfort the lame and blind, and to give exhibition [a scholarship] to poor scholars for the continuance of learning."[96] Richard Baxter heartily supported the view that worldly abundance should be used to relieve those in want of even the necessities of life.[97] The reason for working and even frugality is not to hoard money but to do good and help the poor.[98]

In speaking to the nobility and gentry of England, Baxter mentions that their wealth and social standing afford them great opportunity to do good.[99] He then proceeded to prepare a catalog of what he called ten seasonable good works for the rich. These good works are not a means of proving or a sign of election, but are to be done because of the recognition of the fact that man is a social animal as a rule, and each Christian has a responsibility to help others who are a part of that social

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[95] Ibid., I, 754.

[96] Hutchinson, Works, p. 317.

[97] Baxter, Works, II, 527.

[98] Ibid., I, 830.

[99] Ibid., III, 438.

order. The rich are to seek out those who are burdened with too many children for their means, or those who are ill and relieve them as they are able. They are to continue to help them until they are able to carry on by themselves. The well-to-do are to take the children of the poor and provide them with an apprenticeship in an honest trade. They are to be sure to choose for them Godly masters, so that they may take care of their souls as well as their bodies. The wealthy are also to establish schools in the backward or underdeveloped parts of the country where the children are not taught to read and write.[100] This sounds almost like the Job Corp and the Great Society. John Dod advocated the thought that an important consideration in the right use of one's own goods is liberality toward others, without which there is no true obedience to the commandments of God.[101]

Richard Rogers, a well-known Puritan minister of Wethersfield in Essex, reminds his Christian brethren " . . . that whatsoever I have which may be used toward others, God hath bestowed the same vpon me for others benefit."[102] Again he states that if men have a store of

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[100] Ibid., p. 445.

[101] Dod, Ten Commandments, p. 294.

[102] Richard Rogers, A Garden of Spiritual Flowers: Part I, (London, 1610), sig. B, fol. 5. Hereafter cited as

this world's goods, they are to use them for the welfare of God's children. Because of their wealth, individuals are to be fruitful in good works.[103] Men are to be rich in good works and obtain for themselves a better treasure than they have on earth. The two highest degrees of good works are the love of God and of our brethren; therefore, we are to seek after these above everything else.[104] "If you would do good," states Richard Baxter, "be such as you would have others be, and teach them by Examples of Piety, Charity, Patience, Self-denial, Forbearing and Forgiving; and not by meer Words contradicted by your Lives."[105]

If men possessed a goodly estate, they were to use it for the good of all society; however, the English Puritan writers that I researched did not as a rule foster

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Rogers, Spiritual Flowers. Richard Rogers was a Puritan Divine born in 1550 or 1551. He was the son of a joiner (a skilled woodworker) at Chelmsford in Essex. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge in 1565 and graduated B.A. in 1571. Upon receiving his M.A. in 1574, Rogers returned to Essex, and was appointed lecturer of Wethersfield about 1577. The pattern of Rogers' career followed that of almost all Puritan pastors of that period. He was in and out of trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities because of his nonconformist beliefs until his death in 1618. He is probably best known as the supplier of material for the widely circulated Garden of Spiritual Flowers. Sources for biographical material: DNB, XLIX, 138. Haller, Puritanism, pp. 35-38., Brook, Lives of Puritans, II, 231-234.

[103]Rogers, Spiritual Flowers: Part II, sig. F, fol. 5.

[104]Perkins, Works, III, 49.

[105]Baxter, Works, IV, 855.

the belief that one should seek abundance of wealth. "Man may with good conscience, desire and seeke for goods necessarie, whether for nature [those goods without which nature and life cannot be well preserved] or for his person [goods which maintain a man's state, condition, and dignity]. . . . but he may not desire and seeke for goods more than necessarie."[106] Society is to " . . . see the error of those men, that giue themselues wholly to gather riches to themselues, beeing like to the moule which is always digging in the earth: . . . "[107] God requires that an individual should give as well as get, in fact he gets to give and not to keep, for God is more glorified by giving than by keeping.[108]

This kind of thinking certainly does not fit anywhere into the Weber thesis. Baxter admonishes to, "Take heed that you desire not Riches or Prosperity: Unless you desire that the way to Heaven should be made harder to you, . . . "[109] He further argues that a delight in abundance of wealth, and seeing ourselves thrive, and our designs succeed for worldly things is self-interest and is contrary to the Christian way of life.[110] The question is

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[106]Perkins, Works, II, 125. See also Ibid., I, 770.

[107]Ibid., III, 93.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Baxter, Works, IV, 478.

[110]Ibid., III, 385.

asked in a work by William Gouge, whether a man is bound to seek no more than food to nourish and apparel with which to cherish him.[111] His answer is " . . . this nourishing and cherishing be extended to that estate wherein God hath set vs, to the charge which God hath giuen vs, and to the calling which he hath appointed vnto vs, we ought to care for no more."[112]

There are other good reasons why the English Puritans did not urge men to strive for a large worldly estate. One such reason is that wealth does not satisfy the soul. "Riches are like painted grapes, which look as though they would satisfy a man, but do not slake his hunger, nor quench his thirst."[113] It was no marvel to Richard Greenham that material wealth could not satisfy the soul of man. Even though riches were made for him, his soul was made for God, and whatever is capable of knowing God can never be satisfied with anything else. When God fills the heart of man, everything which is added runs over. Greenham compares man's desires to a burning fire, with riches being the wood or fuel, which may seem to flake or cover over the fire for a time, but it will burn strongly

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[111] Gouge, Domesticall Dvties, p. 90.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Smith, Works, I, 380.

afterwards.[114] "The wise Preacher concludeth this, saying: 'He that loueth siluer shall not be satisfied with it, and he that loueth riches shall be without the fruit thereof.'"[115]

Another reason why the English Puritans did not preach the ideal of abundance of earthly possessions was that they were to seek for true riches in the living God. Wealth chokes the seed of grace in the heart and hinders the care men ought to have for spiritual riches.[116] Christ, who is the mediator between God and man, " . . . is the onely fountaine of all good things, that are, or can be thought on, whether spiritual, or temporall."[117] Godliness was for Perkins the greatest gain, and, therefore, all gain must give place to it.[118] For Richard Sibbes the true riches that men are to gather are those which are in Christ. Individuals are to be rich in grace and faith. This is why sometimes poverty and want are a part of a Christian's riches, because it can be good for his spiritual life. It does not matter, however, either in want or in plenty, he is

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[114]Greenham, Works, p. 292.

[115]Ibid.

[116]Perkins, Works, III, 284.

[117]Ibid., I, 652.

[118]Ibid., II, 115.

a rich man who is in Christ.[119] Is he not richer that has " . . . a heart subdued by grace to be content to want, than he that hath riches in the world? For outward things make not a man a whit the better. But he that hath the Spirit of God to support him, that he can submit to God, he is truly rich."[120] John Dod wrote: " . . . Godliness hath the Promises, Riches hath none: A Son, or a Daughter of God shall be provided for."[121]

A further reason for the English Puritans to have de-emphasized the importance of extensive accumulation of this world's goods was that the Christian was to find contentment here on earth in Christ. This, once again, is not to say that the English Puritans were not aware of the need and importance of wealth or terrestrial things, but it is a matter of emphasis. William Pemberton, a minister of God's Word in Essex, believed that men should not be overly concerned about problems or the things of this world. The Godly man ought to be content with what he has.[122] Godliness provides for the satisfaction of the desires by directing

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[119]Sibbes, Works, IV, 505-506.

[120]Ibid., p. 19.

[121]Dod, Posies, p. 19.

[122]William Pemberton, The Godly Merchant, or The Great gaine (London, 1613), pp. 27-28. Hereafter cited as Pemberton, Godly Merchant.

them to things above, which are laid up in Jesus Christ, who is the true gain of the Christian, and who is able to give contentment.[123] The basis of Godly contentment has " . . . these four degrees. 1. Gods powerfull prouidence. 2. Gods prudent love. 3. Gods gracious promise. 4. The present portion which God bestoweth upon a godly man."[124]

"The inward duty, is contentednesse in our own estate, with whatsoever portion God hath allotted vnto vs."[125] Having made the above statement, Dod, in another work, sets forth four arguments against immoderate care for earthly goods. To begin with it is needless because God knows that we have need of things, and He bids us to cast our cares on Him. Secondly, God takes care of the wild animals who do not labor long and hard, and He will provide for men as well. Thirdly, worry is needless because one penny cannot be added to an estate without God. Lastly, it is heathenish and contrary to the Christian life.[126]

In writing about life and riches as they are given of God, Richard Greenham penned these words: "Let vs

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[123] Ibid., p. 58.

[124] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[125] Dod, Ten Commandments, p. 290.

[126] John Dod, Old Mr. DOD'S Sayings, Collected by R. T. (Cambridge, 1673), pp. 10-11. Hereafter cited as Dod, Sayings: 1673.

therefore reverence this great goodnesse and wisdome of the Lord, and be content with the vse of life which he in mercie granteth vs, knowing that it is better to be a liuing dogge than a dead lyon."[127] Perkins maintained that special moderation of mind must be used in the possessing and using of riches, and men must be content with their estate in order not to set the affections of their hearts upon riches.[128] Riches are also perilous and dangerous to the soul of the faithful; consequently, one should not seek their abundance.

The writings of the English Puritans abound in warnings against the hazards and pitfalls of worldly possessions. "The devil is crafty. Those which he cannot supplant by adversity, he overthroweth with prosperity."[129] Richard Baxter expresses this same idea but in a slightly different manner: "He [the Devil] maketh the rich his Instruments . . . "[130] William Pemberton deplores the dangers in riches when he states: "Oh how many and great are the dangers and difficulties which this gaine of the world in getting, and in keeping, and in spending the same."[131]

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[127]Greenham, Works, pp. 64-65.

[128]Perkins, Works, II, 127. See also Bradford, Writings, p. 132.

[129]Hutchinson, Works, p. 308.

[130]Baxter, Works, I, 86.

[131]Pemberton, Godly Merchant, p. 105.

In his mind the gain of Godliness is free from such dangers.[132] "Seeking of abundance is a hazard to the saluation of the soule by reason of mans corruption. Therefore in Mat. 13. Riches are called 'thornes,' that choake the word of God sowne in the heart."[133] The nature of man is such that prosperity corrupts him and brings him unto destruction. It fills him with pride and covetousness, makes him negligent, dissolute, forgetful, and unthankful.[134] Baxter states: "Oh the blinding Power of Riches!"[135] He believed that ordinarily riches are far more dangerous to the soul of man than poverty, and a greater obstruction to men's salvation. This is born out in experience in that few of the rich or rulers of the world are holy, heavenly, self-denying, mortified men.[136]

Usually in a time of prosperity, when all is going well and they get what they desire, they tend to forget God, but when adversity comes the inward man is renewed and strengthened day by day.[137] "It is a iust iudgement that earthly riches doe deceive our hearts, when heauenly riches

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[132] Ibid., p. 106.

[133] Perkins, Works, II, 125.

[134] Hutchinson, Works, p. 308.

[135] Baxter, Works, II, 894. See also Baxter, Works, III, 490-491.

[136] Ibid., p. 489.

[137] Bradford, Writings, I, 430. See also Sibbes, Works, IV, 477.

doe not delight vs; that the outward things should carrie vs away, when heauenly things cannot so much preuaile with vs."[138] It is much harder to believe in God and in His promises in the abundance of worldly things, than it is in the want of them. The material things act as a veil that is set between God and man, and they obstruct his sight in that he is unable to see God for the possessions.[139] Faith is the means by which we are joined to God and not money.[140]

Richard Baxter also believed that riches make it much more difficult for a man to be saved, and the love of this world is the most common cause of men's damnation. He quotes one Bible reference after another in warning Christians against the desire for wealth. This is not to say that riches are wrong if they are used for the end for which they were intended, to promote the kingdom of God and to help one's fellow man.[141] Here is one of the major concerns of the English Puritans that wealth should be well-used and not abused. It is the problem that when

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[138]Greenham, Works, pp. 29-30.

[139]Ibid., p. 11.

[140]Ibid., p. 12.

[141]Baxter, Works, I, 207-208.

a man becomes rich and secure, he often turns from God and promotes heresy[142] and follows unjust practices.[143]

Another danger of riches is covetousness. Covetousness, or love of the profits of the world, is a sin. This is not the sin of the rich only but also of the poor.[144] It is the lack of faith that makes men worldly-minded or covetous. Men say their creeds but do not believe in the day of judgment, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. God has provided that each individual should work at the task of living as He would have him. Thus, men are to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the earthly things shall be added. Men are not to labor for, and covet, the meat that perishes but for that which will endure to life eternal.[145]

Thomas Lever also spoke at great length against the inherent danger in the accumulation of great wealth. "He that seeketh to be ryche, be he neuer so poore a slaue, or so mightye a Lorde, he falleth into dyuers temptacions and snares of the deuyll: but they that seeke the Lorde, shall lacke no goodnes."[146] If men seek to be rich, they

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[142]Greenham, Works, p. 28.

[143]Ibid., pp. 431-432.

[144]Baxter, Works, III, 887.

[145]Ibid., I, 206.

[146]Lever, Sermons, p. 63.

shall find sorrow, misery, and mischief. If they seek to be Godly, then, they shall find comfort, wealth, prosperity, and all manner of felicity. If men will be Godly, they must follow Christ. This means to accept the doctrine of His Word, which He left here upon earth, to guide the steps of their lives in the way of peace.[147]

The warnings against wealth and its accompanying dangers are innumerable in the sermons and writings of the English Puritans. Max Weber and his followers will search without success to find Richard Baxter, or any of the English Puritans that were examined in this study, teaching that toiling in a calling to acquire wealth is an expression of virtue and is willed of God. Neither is there evidence to substantiate the view that the making of money became the surest and most evident proof of rebirth or genuine faith, nor is there proof that the aspiration to make money became an end in itself to which people are bound as a calling.

This brings the focus of this study back to the ideals of the calling once again. This writer agrees with H. M. Robertson when he states: "When the early Puritans used the concept of the 'calling' it was almost

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[147] Ibid.

invariably in reproof of covetousness and ambition."[148] I also agree with Winthrop S. Hudson that Weber is limited to one statement in Baxter, and I might add that I found no such statement in any of the other writers that I examined, which he is able to use effectively in support of his thesis that Puritanism sanctified the pursuit of riches, which led to the obliteration of ethical values in economic life.[149] Here is Baxter's much quoted statement: "If God shows you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept His gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it: you may labour to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin."[150] Thus, the gaining of wealth is not only morally permissible but is actually enjoined in the performance of one's duty in a calling.[151]

I would concur with Hudson that, "This is a perfect illustration of the distortion involved in isolating the

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[148]Robertson, Economic Individualism, p. 8.

[149]Hudson, Spirit of Capitalism, p. 11.

[150]Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 162. See Baxter, Works, I, 358.

[151]Ibid., p. 163.

concept of the 'calling' from its context."[152] To begin with there are important qualifications for the gaining of money within this one statement itself which does not permit a blanket injunction to acquire all that you can. The particular quotation from Baxter, referred to by Weber, concerning the choice of a vocation, is actually only one of several statements in which Baxter considers this question. It is important to point out that this one isolated quotation does not provide a true understanding of Baxter's ideas of the calling, nor does Weber's interpretation of it conform with Baxter's ideas on money or riches. Baxter maintained that one should choose a calling that does not overwhelm the body and mind with cares and labor and thus deprive the individual of all opportunity to think on the Word of God or heaven.[153] Baxter then writes, "The first and principal thing to be intended in the choice of a Trade or Calling for your selves or Children, is the Service of God, and the Publick good."[154] When two vocations are equally conducive to the public good, and one of them has the advantages of wealth, and the other is more advantageous to the soul, the latter must be preferred. Along

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[152]Hudson, Spirit of Capitalism, p. 11.

[153]Baxter, Works, I, 357.

[154]Ibid.

with the public welfare, the soul's advantage must guide one's choice.[155]

Many other examples can be provided from the writings of Richard Baxter and other English Puritans that indicate that the end of the calling was not to gain riches but was a reproof of covetousness, and a particular vocation should be for the good of all society. Men are admonished to choose a trade, insofar as they have a choice, in which they " . . . may be most serviceable to God. Choose not that in which you may be most Rich or Honourable in the world; but that in which you may do most good, and best escape sinning."[156] Later, Baxter states that a Christian is to be faithful in a particular calling, however, " . . . not out of a covetous Mind; but in Obedience to God, and that he may maintain his Family, and be able to do good to others."[157]

The seeming Christian who labors to increase his estate and enrich himself because of a covetous heart does not do so because God has commanded it.[158] William Perkins writes:

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[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid., p. 106.

[157] Ibid., II, 986.

[158] Ibid., p. 987.

> The author of euery calling is God himselfe: and therefore Paul saith; "As God hath called euery man, let him walke." And for this cause, the order and manner of liuing in this world, is called a vocation; because euery man is to liue as he is called of God.[159]

There are certain vices that must be shunned in the works of men's callings. There are two in particular--covetousness and injustice.[160] Covetousness is a notorious vice, whereby all men almost apply their callings, and the works whereof, to the gathering of wealth and riches: this is one of the head and master sinnes of the world, and from it a sea of euils flow both into the Church and Commonwealth."[161] Perkins then quotes Saint Paul as saying, "'They that will be rich,' that is, such as referre the labour of their callings to the gathering of wealth, 'fall into many and grieuous temptations,' and so consequently into damnation."[162] Judas is the best example that he can find.

Now, when in the works of their callings men are interested only in getting wealth, they do as it were set bars on the gates of heaven and load themselves with such burdens which make them unable to pass.[163] "Therefore

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[159]Perkins, Works, I, 750.

[160]Ibid., p. 767.

[161]Ibid.

[162]Ibid.

[163]Ibid., p. 768.

speciall care must be had that our time and calling be not spent in gathering earthly treasures."[164] Perkins then argues that Paul plainly condemns the desire of riches, that is, things which are more than necessary for life.[165] Furthermore, " . . . to seeke for aboundance is not lawfull, neither doth it stand with good conscience, . . . we haue no warrant to pray for aboundance."[166]

Thomas Lever, also, reproved men for covetousness and ambition in their callings:

> As for you that wyll not heare and regarde goddes worde, ye declare your selues not to be of God. But for because ye haue the deuyl to your father, ye wyll fulfyll the lustes and desyres of the Deuyll, whyche is your father. And the luste and desire of the Deuyll is, to hynder the worcke and pleasure of God: and thys is the worke and wyll of God, that we should repose oure faythe and truste in Christe Iesu, and bestowe our laboure and diligence in our owne vocacyon.
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> Therefore the deuyll poysonynge all hys wyth greadye couetousenes, wyll cause them euer to trust to their owne prouision, and neuer to be content wyth their owne vocacion, but beynge called of God to be marchaunt, gentleman, lawer, or courtear, yet to be readye at a becke of their father the deuyl, besydes this their godly vocacion, deuyllyshelye to proule for, seke, and purchase farmes, personages, and benefices, to discourage housbandemenne from tyllynge of the grounde, and ministers from preachynge of Goddes woorde: . . .[167]

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[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Lever, Sermons, pp. 49-50.

Lever is far from using the calling to advance capitalism as a basic attitude. The end of a man's calling, as we have seen presented by the English Puritans, is not to gather worldly possessions or wealth but to serve God in the serving of man, and in seeking the good of all others in society, and to this end individuals must apply their lives and labor.[168]

Each man's calling was assigned of God. As a gift of God it entailed responsibilities. Weber emphasized the idea that the calling caused the Puritans to be industrious in their business to the greater glory of God, and at the same time there was a strong condemnation of idleness.[169] The Puritan willingness to do the best that is humanly possible in a particular vocation was not limited to labor alone, but the same principle was applied in all of their life.[170] This diligence and acceptance of individual responsibility is not a Puritan or "Middle Class" virtue but is a Christian concept, and as an ideal it is well-pronounced in other religions as well. Neither were the English Puritans the only Christians that disapproved of idleness, for this attitude is as old as

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[168]Perkins, Works, II, 126.

[169]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 157-160.

[170]Robertson, Economic Individualism, p. 11.

Saint Paul, and there were those in the Anglican Church who spoke out against it as strongly as any English Puritan.

Bishop Lancelot Andrews, a staunch Anglican and contemporary of John Robinson, wrote that idleness is a feeder of lust. It was a sin of Sodom which was highly displeasing to God. They are at fault who waste time either by too much sleep or by not being faithful to the labor of their calling.[171] He later quotes the Apostle Paul as saying "' . . . let every man labor with his hands the thing that is good;' so that if he have no calling, or any unlawful calling, and so do not labour the thing that is good, he offendeth against this commandment."[172] Andrews asserts that idle people are against the state of mankind both in and out of paradise.[173] "In paradise, God placed them in the garden, that they might dress it, Gen. ii. 15, and when they were driven out, Gen. iii. 19, in the sweat of their brows they were to eat their bread."[174] Consequently, the idle and unprofitable servant is to be cast into utter darkness as a superfluous creature.[175]

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[171]Lancelot Andrewes, Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, and Other Minor Works (Oxford, 1846), p. 239. Hereafter cited as Andrewes, Minor Works.

[172]Ibid., p. 253.

[173]Ibid.

[174]Ibid.

[175]Ibid., p. 254.

It is also of interest to note that Bishop Andrews' attitude toward riches was nearly identical with those English Puritans that have been studied. He speaks of the uncertainty of riches: "'Travail not to be greedily for them [riches], bestow not all thy wisdom upon them,' saith he [Solomon], 'for they have the wings of an eagle, and will take their flight of a sudden.'"[176] Riches of this world are transitory, fickle, and deceitful, and Bishop Andrews finds passage after passage in the Bible that he uses in his argument against them.[177] Material prosperity comes from God, and those who possess wealth have a duty to use it in the right manner. "So all rich men must confess, that which I have, I have it of the free gift and mercy of God; I have it not for myself only, but there is a rent to be paid, both to the Church, and to the poor brethren; . . . "[178] These are the same views as those of men like Perkins, Sibbes, and a dozen other English Puritan Divines.

The English Puritans examined in this study believed there exists a community of believers that are of one heart

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[176]Lancelot Andrewes, Ninety-Six Sermons, in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (5 vols.; Oxford, 1841-1843), V, 19.

[177]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[178]Andrewes, Minor Works, p. 260.

and one soul and have a common Father and a common head in Christ. This community is united together in brotherly love, and there is a mutual concern for the welfare of all. The English Puritans, therefore, rejected any practices on the part of individuals that were not in accord with these beliefs as in the case of some sharp or questionable activities of merchants or any one else who bought or sold goods of any kind. "Love is the principle of doing good to others. . . . Love is the bond of Societies:"[179] Anything that does not conform to this law of love is unacceptable. Love for one's neighbor is to be expressed in concern for his bodily needs as well as toward all his possessions. An individual's dealings with a neighbor's worldly goods must be upright, and God is greatly displeased if this is not the case.[180]

There is to be no lack of love toward consumers by merchants. Men's " . . . greedie affections must not make

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[179]Baxter, Works, I, 848.

[180]John Knewstubs, Lectvres Vpon the twentith Chapter of Exodus, and certein other places of Scripture (London, 1577), pp. 133-135. Hereafter cited as Knewstubs, Exodus. John Knewstubs was born in Westmoreland in 1544. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge where he graduated B.A. in 1564. In 1567 he was elected a fellow, in 1568 he proceeded M.A., and in 1576 he received a B.D. degree. Upon his removal from Cambridge in 1579 Knewstubs became the minister at Cockfield in Suffolk where he labored until his death in 1624. For further biographical material see DNB, XXXI, 244., and Brook, Lives of the Puritans, II, 308-311.

the market, nor set the price upon the things that are to be solde, but the worthinesse of the thing it selfe that is bought or solde, and the benefite that it is likely to yeelde to him that shall inioy it, must strike the stroke."[181] Knewstubs affirmed that in the book of Leviticus a law was given to the children of Israel which provides for honest and faithful dealing in buying and selling. He quotes: "'When thou sellest any thing to thy neighbour, or buyest at thy neighbours hand, ye shal not deceive one another, . . . '"[182] No man was to oppress "' . . . his neighboure, but thou shalt feare thy GOD, for I am the Lorde your GOD.' These are the very wordes of the texte."[183]

By the equity and reason of this law one may learn two rules which will teach men to discern well of true buying and selling, and teach all to buy and sell in the fear of God and with a good conscience. The first rule is that our covetous affections should not set the price of anything. Men are to favor love to their neighbor and bridle self-love in all commercial transactions.[184]

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[181] Ibid., pp. 144-145.

[182] Ibid., p. 145.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid., p. 147.

> The second rule is, that in buying and selling, we driue the commodities giuen and receiued as neere equalitie as possible we can: that so farre forth as we can gather (by the present value, rate, and account that is made of those things exchanged) there be equall commodities comming to bothe the parties by that exchange, and that neither partie be a deceiuer, or oppressour of his brother: for suche hath the Lorde threatened that he will be reuenged of. [185]

Men must abide by the common rule of nature and the Bible, namely, that they should not do that unto another which they would not have done to themselves.[186]

Knewstubs further states that:

> We must therefore thinck, that when wee come to buying and selling, we come to witnesse our loue towardes our neighboure by our good dealing with him in his goods, and to leaue some testimonie of the feare of God, and a good conscience behind vs: we come to make tryall of our faith to God, while we depend uppon his blessing for our prouision to liue well and happily, in following the rule of loue and vpright dealing, whiche he hath left vs, and not desire of our own rauinous affection.[187]

The above principles must be followed in transactions with friends as well as with enemies.[188]

In conclusion, Knewstubs indicates there are two things that are necessary for every man if he would live obediently with regard to God's commandments on buying and selling. The first requirement is to have " . . . an assured

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[185] Ibid., p. 148.

[186] Ibid., pp. 149-150.

[187] Ibid., p. 150.

[188] Ibid., p. 156.

faith in Gods promises, that he will provide for vs, in the things necessary as well for the bodie as the soul: and that he hath charged himselfe, as well with the care and provision for the one, as for the other."[189] The second requirement is " . . . to finde a contented minde, with which we haue already, and therefore to stay in it, as in a riche portion, with thankfulnesse of heart to our God for it, bearing our part and countenance in all our doings accordingly, without any exceeding whatsoeuer."[190]

The same spirit of concern for justice and Christian love in governing the business life of all men is evident in the works of all of the English Puritan writers that I have examined. In considering the problem of how to avoid sin in buying and selling, Richard Baxter defends the view that men should not ask or desire more than the true value of what is being sold. They should do as they would be done by, if they were in the same circumstances as the other person. Men should also not work on the ignorance or the necessity of another to get more for marketable goods.[191] He is particularly adamant against this last point when he lashes out against monopolies. "Regard the publick good

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[189] Ibid., p. 160.

[190] Ibid., p. 161.

[191] Baxter, Works, IV, 125.

above your own commodity. It is not lawful to take up or keep up any oppressing Monopoly or Trade; which tendeth to enrich you by the loss of the Commonwealth or of many."[192] The great principle, once again, for governing the relationship of men, is to love their neighbor as themselves.[193]

Richard Greenham is vehemently opposed to all deceit in buying and selling, which he deems stealing.[194] He is diametrically against the covetousness associated with the market price.

> Let vs see in this particular point: thou hast much corne to sell, dearth of corne would be commodious vnto thee, and yet hurtfull vnto thy poore brother, and to the whole land: now if thou wouldest with dearth for thy owne profits sake, though it would be a hindrance to the whole Church; if thou reioyce more in thine owne gaine, then thou canst be sorrowfull for thy brothers harme; if thy gaine do make thee through pride to aduance thy selfe aboue thy brother, then doubtless, thy heart is sore infected with corrupted couetousnesse.[195]

On the contrary, " . . . if it be cheape, and thou canst be more glad for the profit of many, than thou art grieved for thy own losse, or if it be deare, yet thou canst with thine heart, wish that it were cheape; then thou mayest safely say, that couetousnesse preuaileth

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[192] Ibid., I, 805.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Greenham, Works, p. 240.

[195] Ibid., p. 128.

not against thee, it ruleth not thy heart, yea this thou maiest see, that thine heart is rightly affected, both to God and to thy brethren."[196]

After lashing out against certain corrupt and unethical practices of some merchants, William Pemberton admonishes them in the following manner: "Oh purchase pietie, gaine godlinesse, grow rich in grace: so shall your hearts and liues be holy, your estates wealthy, and your persons happy in the day of your great accounts."[197]

William Perkins exhorts men not to desire or seek to do evil to their neighbor, but they should covet only that which is for the neighbor's good.[198] Furthermore, men are to sell only such things as are of a good quality and fit for use. They, also, must use only just weights and measures.[199] Perkins writes: "'Thou shalt not steale.' He breakes this commandment, . . . That takes more for his ware than the iust price."[200] Both parties must benefit from a contract in business.[201]

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[196] Ibid.

[197] Pemberton, Godly Merchant, p. 114.

[198] Perkins, Works, I, 69.

[199] Ibid., p. 65.

[200] Ibid., p. 461.

[201] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

Perkins again reproves the business world when he writes: "'Whatsoeuer ye would that men should do vnto you, even so doe to them: for this is the law and the Prophets.'"[202] He maintains that people are constantly oppressed in buying and selling.

> And this is done, 1. when the iust price of a thing is raised. For in bargaining, it is not lawful to purse one penny, without the giuing of a pennys worth. 2. Sale vpon a set day, which is, when day is giuen, that the price may be inhanced. For what is this, I pray you, but to sell time, and to take more of our neighbour than is right? 3. To ingrosse, which is to buy vp all of one commoditie into thine own hands, that when no other hath any of the same, thou maist sell it at thine owne price. 4. To become bankerupt, that thou maiest be enriched by the dammages, and goods of other men. 5. Not to restore that, which was lent to one, pledged to one, or found by him. 6. To delay any kind of restitution from one day to another. 7. To practice vsury. . . . Vsury . . . is quite contrarie to Gods word, and may very fitly be termed biting lucre. . . Last of all when a man detaineth the labourers wages.[203]

This certainly does not sound like the secular and impersonal attitude of the Spirit of Capitalism as described by Max Weber.

Equity and humanity demand that employers are not to be oppressive to their hired help while the laborer is worthy of his hire. Masters are enjoined not to require more of the servants than their strength will bear. "The Master is to rule ouer the seruant in iustice. . . .

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[202] Ibid., p. 63.

[203] Ibid.

Therfore he is to require labour at their hands proportionable to their strength, and yeeld them sometimes intermission and rest."[204] John Dod asserts that masters must use their servants justly and with a good conscience.[205] "It is a very dishonest thing in the master, not to pay his seruants due wages, and in due season, and with good termes, willingly and chearefully."[206] Moreover, "If the worker becomes ill while in the service of a certain man, he is to seek to provide the means by which the seruant can be restored to health."[207]

In considering the influence of the English Puritans on development of modern economic thought and practices, it is necessary to turn to the problem of usury to see if in this crucial area they advance the cause of modern capitalism and the "Spirit of Capitalism" as was defined by Max Weber.

In 1545 during the reign of Henry VIII, a statute was passed that dealt with the problem of usury and which

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[204] Ibid., III, 696.

[205] Dod, Ten Commandments, p. 193.

[206] Ibid., pp. 196-791 [recte] 197.

[207] Perkins, Works, III, 696-697. See also Dod, Ten Commandments, p. 197.

permitted an interest rate of ten per cent.[208] It will be recalled that Calvin permitted a rate of only five per cent when lending money. It would seem that if his teaching had as great an impact on the English Puritans as is generally assumed, then one would expect some kind of protest against such high interest rates as was set forth by the law of 1545.[209] These were soon forthcoming.

One of the earliest expostulations against the above law came from Thomas Lever in a sermon delivered in 1550. He states: "Yea but what shall me [we] than saye by vsurye, whiche is now made so lawefull than an offycer yf he would, can not punysh, to make men to leaue it."[210] He points out that the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy and the fifth chapter of Matthew have a plain commandment concerning this problem--to lend to him that is in need and would like to borrow. In Luke, chapter six, Christ encourages men to lend without expecting to receive anything back.[211] "Here we have two commaundementes, the one is to lende, and the other not to lende for lukar [lucre]: nowe

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[208] The Statutes of the Realm. Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third (11 vols.; n.p., 1810-1822), III, 996. Hereafter cited as Statutes of the Realm.

[209] Hyma, Renaissance to Reformation, p. 544.

[210] Lever, Sermons, p. 44.

[211] Ibid.

he that breaketh goddes commaundemant must nedes go to the deuyll."[212] There are two ways by which rich men can go to the devil in breaking these two commandments: either in lending for profit or else in not lending at all. Many will go in one of these two ways.[213]

Another of the early English Puritans that published a devastating attack on usury was Robert Crowley. In his Epigrams, published in 1550, he spent the last section on the problems of lending for interest. Here is a passage from that work:

> Ye are not borne to your selfe,
> neither maye you take
> That thynge for youre owne,
> where of God did you make
> But stuarde and baylife,
> that shall yelde a rekeninge
> At the Day of Iudgmente
> for euerye thing.
> And do ye not doubte,
> but then ye shall knowe,
> Whether ye maye your goodes
> at your pleasure bestowe;
> And whether ye maye vse
> wayes wycked and yl,
> To incraese your riches
> at your owne will.
> But chieflye to lende
> youre goodes to vsurie,
> Is a thinge that you shall
> moste dearelye abye;
> For Christe saieth in Luke
> that the heathen do so.
> Take hede lest ye flytte,
> from pleasure to woe.[214]

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[212] Ibid.

[213] Ibid.

[214] Crowley, Works, p. 51.

A second work in which Crowley takes up the evils of usury is a petition to Parliament entitled An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of this Relm. He strongly censured Parliament for passing the usury law of 1545. "Alas, that euer any Christian assemble should bee so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit that thei should alowe for leafull [lawful] any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth."[215] He urges Parliament to scan the Word of God, particularly the Psalms concerning this matter, where the question is asked, "'Lord, who shal enter into the tabernacle, and who shal rest in thy holy mountain?'"[216] The answer is that he that is without spot and does right and that speaks truth in his heart and has not done any harm to his neighbor and he that pays no special heed to the wicked. Finally, "He that hath not geuen his money vnto vsury, and hath not taken giftes and rewards against the innocent."[217]

Crowley then asks the members of Parliament that if they glory in the knowledge of God's Spirit, who spoke the foregoing words by the Prophets, how can they suffer the act of 1545 to stand, which shall be a witness against them in the last day in that they allow that which God's

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[215] Ibid., p. 173.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Ibid.

Spirit forbids?[218] "If he that geueth not hys money to vsury shal dwell in the Lords tabernacle, wher shal he dwel that geueth his money to vsury? Shal he not be shut out, and caste into vtter darkness?"[219] He goes on to say: "Yea, and you that haue made this lawe, vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God, shal at the laste daye deny you, and saye that he neuer knewe you; 'Depart from me,' shal he saye, 'al ye workers of iniquitie.'"[220]

Evidently the outcry of such men as Thomas Lever, Robert Crowley, and others was effective. In 1552 the statute of 1545 was repealed and a new act promulgated which declared all usury unlawful:[221]

> . . . no parsone or parsons of what Estate degree qualitie or condicon so ever he or they be, by anny corrupt colourable or disceitfull conveyaunce sleight of engyne, or by anny waye or meane, shall lende give sett owte delyver or forbeare anny some or somes of moneye, to anny parsone or parsons, or to anny Corporacon or Bodie Politike, to or for anny manner of Usurie encrease lucre gayne or interest to be had receyved or hoped for, over and above the some or somes so lent given sett owt delyvered or forborne, uppon payne of forfaiture the valewe aswell of the some or somes so lent given sett out delyvered or forborne, as allso of the Usurie encreace

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[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid., pp. 173-174.

[221] Hyma, Renaissance to Reformation, p. 544.

> lucre gayne or interest thereof, and allso uppon payne of emprysonement of the bodye or bodyes of every such offendor or offendors, and allso to make fyne and rawnsome at the Kings will and pleasure; . . .[222]

The law of 1545 was revived under Elizabeth in 1571. Parliament, however, still held to the view that usury was forbidden by the law of God and as such was sinful and detestable, but the statute of Edward VI (1552) had not accomplished the task of ridding the country of usury, and thus it was looked upon by Parliament as an evil necessity.[223]

The English Puritan preachers and writers, however, continued to express their disapproval and condemnation of usury in general. William Perkins writes that usury " . . . is a gain exacted by couenant, aboue the principall, onely in lieu and recompence of the lending of it. Vsury being considered as it is thus described, is quite contrarie to Gods word, and may very fitly be termed biting lucre."[224] He further argues that the end of a man's calling is not to gather riches, and consequently, men are " . . . to beate downe the wicked practise of the vsurer . . . "[225] The practice of usury is to be considered comparable to murder in that it sucks the blood from the poor and eats up God's

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[222] Statutes of the Realm, IV, Part I, p. 155.

[223] Ibid., pp. 542-543.

[224] Perkins, Works, I, 63. See also Ibid., p. 750.

[225] Ibid., II, 126.

people.[226] The Lord expressly forbids the taking of increase from the poor. Thus, the common practices of usurers are condemned to hell itself. These are the people who live on the blood and life of the poor, whose sin is disapproved of everywhere and ought to be despised as the shedding of blood.[227]

One Robert Bolton of Blackburn, Lancashire has left for us a valuable insight into the English Puritan attitude toward usury in a work entitled, A Short and Private Discourse between Mr. Bolton and one M. S. concerning Usury. Bolton contends that one should not be a usurer because God would not have it so.[228] He points out that Saint Ambrose and other worthy Christians have detested, and discoursed against usury, and who compared the usurers with the devil himself. In fact the judgment of the Church

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[226] Ibid., III, 46.

[227] Ibid., p. 94.

[228] Robert Bolton, A Short and Private Discourse Between Mr. Bolton and one M. S. concerning Usury (London, 1637), p. 2. Robert Bolton was born at Blackburn in the county of Lancashire in 1572. He entered Lincoln College at Oxford in 1592. He removed from Lincoln College to Brasenose with the hope of obtaining a fellowship and eventually received his B.A. in 1596. In 1602 Bolton became fellow of Brasenose and obtained his M.A. in the same year. He proceeded B.D. in 1609, having resolved to become a clergyman. In addition to his duties as a minister of the Word of God, Bolton found time to write a number of works which had a very wide and sustained popularity. He died in 1631. Sources for the biographical note: DNB, V, 330-332., and Fuller, Worthies, II, 207.

as a whole for the past fifteen hundred years has been against the practice of usury.[229] Bolton invokes history in general against usury when he writes: "There was never any Religion, nor sect, nor state, nor degree, nor Profession of men, but they disliked it: Usury."[230] The Greeks, Latins, philosophers, divines, lawyers, Catholics, heretics, all tongues and nations have always thought of usurers as dangerous and as thieves. Nature itself proves this to be so.[231] Scripture absolutely forbids usury of any kind.[232] It is not permitted in the law of Moses,[233] and although it is not forbidden by name in the New Testament, that does not prove that it is lawful. It is forbidden in the Old Testament and in the moral law of God which is perpetual.[234]

Those that would argue that usury is not mentioned by name in the New Testament must also remember that removing one's neighbor's marker, polygamy, treason, and tyranny are not censured by those exact names but are evident and tremendous transgressions of the moral law.[235] Every man is another's

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[229] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[230] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[231] Ibid., p. 6.

[232] Ibid., p. 7.

[233] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[234] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[235] Ibid., p. 25.

brother, whether he be poor or rich, and it is no more lawful to take usury of our brothers, than it is to kill them.[236] "All usury biteth. Money so lent cometh not empty home: but biteth off, knaweth away, and bringeth with it some part of the borrowers wealth, and substance."[237] This biting hurts either the borrower or the commonwealth. "Either like the morning Wolfe, it sucks out the life, the blood, and the marrow of a poore man: or like a Mastive it snatches a peece and portion out of the Borowers substance: or like a Waspe or Dog-flie, it stings Him, one way, or other in His estate."[238] Usury hurts the commonwealth because it forces the prices up on all items that the public must buy.

Bolton provides the example of a merchant that borrows money to buy corn. When he sends it to market, the merchant sets the price for his commodities in order to make a profit as well as to pay the interest on the money he borrowed to buy the corn. Consequently, the interest is passed along to the consumer.[239]

If someone argues that usury is necessary for cities, towns, and merchants because it is a part of the economic

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[236] Ibid., p. 10.

[237] Ibid., p. 13.

[238] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[239] Ibid., p. 16.

system, this would be unacceptable to Bolton. He would contend that " . . . if a pretended necessity springs from the hardnesse of mens hearts, and corruption of the times bee sufficient to justifie Usury; then by the same arguments may any other sinne be defended."[240] Even if the laws of the land allow usury, this does not make it lawful or right because no law of man can abrogate or make void the law of God. In this case the law of God is to rule the conscience of men.[241]

"Lending was not ordained to be a contract of negotiation, but an Act of charity, and liberality, wherein the Lender should not respect his owne gaine, but the Borrowers good; Lending therefore upon Usury is made an Act of selfe-love, wherein the good of the Borrower is sought either not at all, or but in a secondary respect, as it serveth or furthereth the Lenders gaine."[242] Finally, Bolton believed that charity is kind while usury is cruel. Charity does not seek as much as possible for itself; however, usury attempts to get all that it can from others. The two, as far as he is concerned, are diametrically opposed to one another.[243]

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[240] Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[241] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[242] Ibid., p. 37.

[243] Ibid., p. 39.

Bolton was an English Puritan that lived well into the reign of Charles I and accurately represents many of those who had a like religious faith and that would not accept any kind of usury. Such men could not possibly serve to typify the kind of economic ideals as Max Weber claims for them. Contrary to what Weber maintained, their religion did not permit them to practice the kind of economic individualism that is described in the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. The earning of money does not take " . . . on the character of an ethically coloured maxim for the conduct of life."[244] This is true at least with regard to those English Puritan writers that I have examined.

Richard Baxter is among those who did not prohibit all usury; however, "The Law of Nature and of Christ forbids all Unjustice and Uncharitableness, and therefore all Usury which is against Justice and Charity."[245] Baxter actually had little to say about usury for the volume of his writings as is generally the case with all the English Puritan writers I have examined. Henry Smith's views on usury are similar to those of Baxter in that he does not condemn all usury; however, it would seem so from his vigorous attacks on it.

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[244]Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 53-54.

[245]Baxter, Works, IV, 125.

Smith maintains: "There are three sins which are accounted no sins, and yet they do more hurt than all their fellows; and those are bribery, non-residence and usury."[246] The usurer is a legal thief, because he tells the party how much he will take before he steals. It is as though he stole by law.[247] In defining usury, someone called it that which is contrary to charity, for Saint Paul states, "'. . .Love seeketh not her own,' but usury seeketh another's that is not her own; therefore usury is far from love; but 'God is love,' saith John, therefore usury is far from God too."[248] Smith supports the view that all of God's commandments are fulfilled by love. However, to uphold love, God prohibits everything that hinders this love, and one of its deadliest enemies is usury. A man cannot love and be an usurer because usury is a kind of cruelty, extortion, and persecution. The want of love, therefore, makes usurers, for if there were love there would be no usury, deceit, extortion, slandering, revenging, and oppression, but men would live in peace, joy, and contentment like the angels.[249] Usury is unlawful because, "It is against the law of nations; . . . it is against

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[246]Smith, Works, I, 89.

[247]Ibid.

[248]Ibid.

[249]Ibid., p. 90.

the law of nature; . . . it is against the law of God."[250] The usurers are similar to Jezebel who said, "' . . . Let me alone, I have a way,' If there be no way to live, saith the false steward, I know what to do, I will deceive. So if there be no way to live, saith the usurers, I know what to do, I will oppress."[251] Those who traffic in usury should hear the judgment of God's law against them, for all the Scriptures prophesy evil unto them. "God saith, that he will smite the usurer with his fist. . . . As his hands were shut against the poore, so God's hand shall be shut against him, that his punishment may be like his sin."[252] If the usurer, however, wants to hear God's final sentence, David said that they "' . . . shall not dwell in God's temple, nor rest in his holy mountain.' . . . If he shall not rest in heaven, then he shall rest in hell, where no rest is."[253] If more liberal laws and favorable attitudes toward usury were necessary for the development of a "spirit of modern capitalism" in the early modern period of history, it would be a futile task to seek support for such laws and attitudes in the writings of the

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[250] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

[251] Ibid., p. 100.

[252] Ibid., p. 101.

[253] Ibid., p. 102.

English Puritans that I have seen. One Roger Turner sums up their attitude toward usury very well when he states that charity, justice, piety, nature, the laws of God and man, and all authority, ancient and modern, join forces and witness against usury.[254] Some, or all, of these witnesses were used against the practice of usury by the English Puritans who were studied for this paper, and who considered the problem.[255]

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[254]Roger Tvrner, The Vsvrers Plea Answered: In a Sermon preached at Southampton (London, 1634), p. 15.

[255]No attempt has been made to incorporate all available sources on usury into the text of this study in that they would only have been a repetition of what had already been stated and would have only served to increase the length of the dissertation while contributing few, if any, new ideas to it. Two such sources are: Miles Mosse, The Arraignment and Conviction of Vsvrie (London, 1595) and chapter XLIV in William Ames, Conscience With the Power and Cases Thereof (N.P., 1633). The statement with regard to not incorporating all available source material on usury into the text is applicable to almost all of the ideas that have been footnoted on the English Puritans.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

After having studied materials on the Weber controversy as well as works by Calvin and the writings of the English Puritans, it would be the conclusion of this writer that Max Weber set forth certain hypothetical ideas that are still only theories.

There are at least three major problems regarding the views of Weber as I see it. First, he rests too much of his evidence upon a non-Christian such as Benjamin Franklin. Weber himself admits that Franklin was "a colourless deist"[1] and the statements that he quotes from Franklin to characterize the "Spirit of Capitalism" are secular ideals "without religious basis."[2] Secondly, even in the case of Richard Baxter, the one English Puritan writer whose works Weber seems to have sampled, he quotes him out of context and thus misrepresents the English Puritans' concept of the calling as well as their attitude toward earthly wealth.

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[1] Weber, Protestant Ethic, p. 53.

[2] Ibid., p. 180.

Thirdly, Weber arrives at his conclusions without having studied extensively the writings of John Calvin or a large cross section of the English Puritan writers, and thus he has not only misinterpreted their views regarding the calling and riches but also their religious and social teachings.

Of great importance in Weber's misinterpretations are the views of John Calvin and the English Puritans regarding the doctrine of election and its effect on their general religious beliefs. The doctrine of election was not dark and inhuman to them, neither was God an impersonal machine that sought to send almost everyone to hell; nor was concern over whether one was of the elect or not, a major point of emphasis by Calvin or the English Puritans, for they trusted themselves to the mercy and love of God in Christ. The religious teachings of Calvin and the English Puritans were not as rationalistic, cold, and devoid of real joy and comfort as Weber contended. Their religion was that of the Christian Church and not that of the deists. John Calvin or Richard Sibbes could be as mystical and warm in writing about man and his relationship to God and other men as Thomas a Kempis or any other mystic. Calvin and the English Puritans were not as individualistic in their religious teaching as Weber argued. By this I mean that they did not consider themselves as islands unto themselves with no responsibility to comfort and help others. The concept of the

mystical body of Christ and the communion of the Saints is strongly stressed in almost all of the works I have studied.

Calvin and the English Puritans also did not stress individualism in social and economic concerns to the extent Weber maintained. They saw the need for providing justice and material well-being for all in society. One will search in vain for evidence that Calvin or the English Puritans, examined for this study, emphasized the idea that everyone was to work as hard as possible in their calling or for proof that they equated election with success in their calling. Labor was not an end in itself. Neither did they promote the idea that aquisition of goods is willed of God or that He has commanded men to gain wealth for His glory. There was not an accent on the concept that the earning of money is an expression of virtue or that it is the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith. Completely foreign to the teachings of Calvin and the English Puritans that were studied is an emphasis on making money as an end in itself to which people are bound as a calling or concern for one's duty to earn more and more money without enjoyment of it. There was not a stress on the concept of thrift in order to save all that one can. The individual was to be thrifty, but in order to help others in society and to aid the Church in its great task of helping men to seek salvation. There is, therefore, no undue stress on individual asceticism in a secular vocation.

Perhaps it would be apropos to point out at this time that men are sometimes hard put to live up to their ideals in the practical world of everyday living. I say this to indicate that no attempt has been made in this dissertation to investigate how the English Puritans functioned in the affairs of the market place. Weber maintained that the origin of the "Spirit of Capitalism" is found in the permanent intrinsic character of the Protestant religion, particularly in the peculiarities of Calvinism. Consequently, I have sought to examine the religious teachings and the influence of those teachings upon certain social and economic views of John Calvin and a number of English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In conclusion, this study of the spirit of capitalism as defined by Max Weber, and of the teachings of John Calvin, and of the English Puritans has, I believe, rendered untenable the theory that it was the intrinsic religious teachings of the Calvinists that psychologically conditioned Western society in such a way as to promote the development of a capitalistic civilization. The spirit of the Puritan is expressed much better by Richard Baxter than by Max Weber when he states: "True Morality, or the Christian Ethick, is the Love of God and Man, stirred up by the Spirit of Christ, through faith; and exercised in works of Piety, Justice, Charity and Temperance."[3]

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[3]Baxter, Works, III, 610.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTER I

MAX WEBER'S THESIS

A useful reference work in the initial stages of this study was R. H. Bainton, Bibliography of the Continental Reformation (Chicago, 1935) which covers a number of aspects of the Reformation. Bainton has also written "Survey of Periodical Literature in the United States, 1945-51," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, XLIII (1952). This article is in English.

An excellent starting point for the study of John Calvin is J. T. McNeill, "Thirty Years of Calvin Study," Church History, XVII (1948). Probably the most up-to-date comprehensive bibliographical study of Calvin is by Lester De Koster, Living Themes in the Thought of John Calvin: A Bibliographical Study (unpublished Ph.D. thesis for the University of Michigan, 1964).

The standard bibliographical aids for the history of England during the Tudor and Stuart Eras are: Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603, ed. Conyers Read (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1959), and the Bibliography

of British History: Stuart Period, 1603-1714, ed. Godfrey Davies (Oxford, 1928).

Two helpful reference works are A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland: And of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, compiled by A. W. Pollard, et al. (London, 1926) and Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700, compiled by Donald Wing, 3 vols. (New York, 1945).

A general knowledge of the literature related to the problem of capitalism can be obtained in the following works: M. Postan, "Studies in Bibliography, Medieval Capitalism," Economic History Review, IV (1933), Richard H. Tawney, "Studies in Bibliography, Modern Capitalism," Economic History Review, IV (1933) and Talcott Parsons, "Capitalism in Recent German Literature: Sombart and Weber," Journal of Political Economy, XXXVI (1928) and XXXVII (1929).

Max Weber's own views that are important for this thesis are available in two works: Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958) and Max Weber, General Economic History, trans. Frank Knight (New York: Collier Books, 1961).

In the writing of the bibliographical note each title is listed only in the first chapter in which it is used.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT DEBATE

P. C. Gordon Walker, "Capitalism and the Reformation," Economic Historical Review, VIII (Nov., 1937) is an excellent synthesis of the problem concerning the influence of the Reformation on the rise of capitalism in which the author maintains that, "The Reformation was not the cause of capitalism; rather it was the result of needs created by capitalist advance at a particular place and time." Another good introduction to the problem at hand is Ephraim Fischoff, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The History of a Controversy," Social Research, XI (Feb., 1944). Fischoff tends to be an apologist of Weber.

A number of other scholarly studies provide introductory surveys. Three of these are: Protestantism and Capitalism: The Weber Thesis and Its Critics, ed. Robert W. Green, Problems in European Civilization (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1959); Kemper Fullerton, "Calvinism and Capitalism," Harvard Theological Review, XXI (July, 1928), 163-195; and Conrad H. Moehlman, The Story of Christianity in Outline: A Study of Its Conquests and Defeats (Rochester, 1930). These five works

mentioned above not only provide insight into the controversy over the Weber thesis but furnish a starting point for bibliographical purposes.

An enlightening Catholic interpretation of the general influence of the Reformation on the economic life of Europe is by George O'Brien, An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation (London, 1923). Two works that provide a well-balanced treatment of the economic life of Europe as a whole are Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York, 1948) and W. Cunningham, An Essay on Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects: Mediaeval and Modern Times (Cambridge, 1900). An older, but distinguished, analysis of the economy of England in the Middle Ages and early modern period is by W. J. Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, 2 vols. (London, 1893).

A standard work that considers the problem, of credit and money lending is by Thomas Wilson, A Discourse Upon Usury (New York, 1963). An older and more controversial approach to the above problem which contains a detailed bibliography is by Benjamin N. Nelson, The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood (Princeton, 1949). Richard Ehrenberg has presented an exhaustive account of the world of finances: Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance, trans. H. M. Lucas

(New York, 1963). W. Cunningham in his study, Christianity and Economic Science (London, 1914) acknowledged his indebtedness to Troeltsch in his interpretation of the influence of Calvinism on capitalism; consequently, the book must be read with this bias in view.

The first to seriously challenge the ideas of Max Weber was Felix Rachfahl, "Kalvinismus und Kapitalismus," Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, III, Nos. 39-43 (1909) and IV, Nos. 22-25 (1910). Lujo Brentano's Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus (München, 1916) was also a pioneer study in the critism of Max Weber's theories. Although Brentano did not completely reject Weber's ideas that Puritan religious doctrines provided a powerful impulse to the growth of capitalism, he did, however, place greater emphasis on material rather than spiritual factors as the crucial elements in the development of modern capitalism.

A competent historical narrative of the emergence of capitalism is by Oliver Cox, The Foundations of Capitalism (New York, 1959). Maurice Dobb presents a Marxist interpretation in his Studies in the Development of Capitalism (New York, 1947) while Henri Sée, Modern Capitalism: Its Origin and Evolution (New York, 1928) is an anti-Marxist view. Sée has also published a short and forceful refutation of Weber's economic and theological

arguments in an article entitled, "Dans quelle mesure puritains et juifs ont-ils contribué aux progrès du capitalisme moderne?," Revue Historique, CLV (Mai-Août, 1927). Another well-known book that merits careful study is Henri Hauser, Les débuts de capitalisme (Paris, 1931). All of chapter II, called "Les Idées Economiques De Calvin," is of particular value for this study.

Edward P. Cheyney in his monumental work, The Dawn of a New Era: 1250-1453 (New York, 1936) analyzes the political, religious, social, and economic institutions of the later Middle Ages. Of importance for this study, Cheyney arrives at the conclusion that capitalism entered into the life of Europe earlier than is commonly realized, and there were few regions where its fructifying and disturbing influence was not felt by the period of the Reformation. A usual general text for the Reformation is Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era: 1500-1650 (New York, 1954). Grimm believes that, "although the capitalist spirit was not fully developed in 1500, it was strong enough to contribute to the general unrest of the times." E. Harris Harbison, The Age of Reformation is a lucid and interesting short introduction to the Reformation. For Harbison, "the main features of nineteenth century European economy are certainly present in embryo by 1550," which would have been too early for the impact of Calvin's teaching to have been widely felt.

Winthrop Hudson, "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," Church History, XVIII (March, 1949) is an address which includes extensive quotations from the writings of a mid-seventeenth century writer on Puritan ethics, Richard Baxter, in order to show that Baxter did not teach that prosperity was proof of God's favor or that poverty was an indication of God's wrath. It is also shown that Baxter taught that one should not labor to be rich. In a second article, "The Weber Thesis Reexamined," Church History, XXX, (March, 1961) Hudson concluded that it was secularization which gave rise to "an uninhibited capitalist spirit in western society."

Conrad Mohlman has furnished evidence as to when it became permissable for Christians to charge interest in, "The Christianization of Interest," Church History, III (1934). "Calvin granted that interest was not in all instances forbidden by God. . . . But Calvin so circumscribed the taking of interest as to impede developing capitalism. For love of neighbor prohibited money-lending as a trade. Banking as a business was not consistent with the Christian way of life." Albert Hyma critically assails the theory that Protestantism was the genesis of the spirit of capitalism in the three following studies: Renaissance to Reformation (Grand Rapids, 1951), Christianity, Capitalism and Communism (Ann Arbor, 1937), and "Calvinism

and Capitalism in the Netherlands, 1555-1700," The Journal of Modern History, X (Sept., 1938).

Ernst Troeltsch in his study The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (New York, 1960) considers the social ethic of the Church from the earliest times to the present century. He accepts and supports Weber's thesis to the extent that it has been alluded to as the Weber-Troeltsch thesis. F. L. Nussbaum's A History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe (New York, 1935) is of great value in that it presents as introduction of Sombart's ideas to the world of scholarship. Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, trans. M. Epstein (Glencoe, Ill., 1951) and The Qunitessence of Capitalism, trans. M. Epstein (London, 1915) stresses as vigorously as Weber the idea that religion greatly fostered the spirit of capitalism, but for Sombart the answer is found in the religious teachings of the Jews and in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. An illuminating survey of the Weber controversy and one which qualified Weber's thesis is R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1926). Tawney asserted that, "The capitalist spirit is as old as history, and was not, as has sometimes been said, the offspring of Puritanism. But it found in certain aspects of later Puritanism a tonic which braced its energies and fortified its already vigorous

temper." H. M. Robertson also levels considerable criticism at Weber as well as Tawney in his well-known book Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and His School (New York, 1959). Robertson stresses the material factors rather than the spiritual forces as the most important ingredients in the evolution of the Capitalistic system in Western Europe. He also contends that the concept of a connection between daily, worldly service and service to God is found in the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and particularly the Jesuits. This caused J. Brodrick, a Jesuit, to come forth with his strongly worded refutation of Robertson, The Economic Morals of the Jesuits: An Answer to Dr. H. M. Robertson (London, 1934). Amintore Fanfani, Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism (New York, 1955) is a critical reexamination of the problem and the evidence presented by various scholars; while the most penetrating and judicious book on the Weber thesis is Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber (New York, 1961).

CHAPTERS III AND IV

SOME THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF JOHN CALVIN AS THEY RELATE TO THE WEBER THESIS

and

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS THE BASIS OF CALVIN'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS

Primary Sources:

The major portion of this part of this study is based upon the writings of Calvin himself. The largest single collection of Calvin's works is the edition, Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia, eds. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, 59 vols. (Brunschwick, 1863-1900). The material in these volumes is all in Latin and French.

Another valuable edition is Works of John Calvin, Numerous translators, 52 vols. (Edinburgh, 1843-1855). This edition was most helpful in that it contains all of Calvin's Latin Commentaries in English. This work will eventually be superseded by a new translation of Calvin's commentaries now being prepared by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company of Grand Rapids.

The correspondence found in the Opera is supplemented by an annotated series issued by A. L. Herminjard, Correspondance des reformateurs dans les pays de langue francaise, 9 vols. (Geneva and Paris, 1866-1897). A large number of Calvin's letters collected by Jules Bonnet, Lettres De Jean Calvin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1854) were translated into English between 1854 and 1858.

A noteworthy edition of The Institutes of the Christian Religion is by Henry Beveridge published by Wm. B. Eerdmans Company of Grand Rapids in 1957.

Secondary Sources:

The most comprehensive biography of Calvin is that by Emile Doumergue entitled Jean Calvin: les hommes et les choses de son temps, 7 vols. (Lausanne, 1899-1917; Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1926-27). The two best, single volume works on the life and thought of Calvin in English are: Williston Walker, John Calvin: The Organiser of Reformed Protestantism (New York, 1906) and Hugh Reyburn, John Calvin: His Life, Letters, and Work (New York, 1914). A pioneer work on the ethics of John Calvin, heavily influenced by Weber, is Georgia Harkness, John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics (New York, 1931). A short, but provocative, biography of Calvin is by Albert Hyma, The Life of John Calvin (Grand Rapids, 1943).

Wilhelm Niesel, The Theology of Calvin, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia, 1956) provides the best introduction in English to this phase of Calvin's thought.

A standard work on the history and influence of Calvin and Calvinism in the world is John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York, 1954).

Probably the best review of the influence of Calvin on the rise of the spirit of modern capitalism in more

recent times is a study by André Bieler, La Pensée Économique Et Social De Calvin (Genève, 1961). Two helpful works in the initial stages of this study were William Graham, The Permeation of Calvin's Social and Economic Thought Into Genevan Life: 1536-1564 (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Religion, State University of Iowa, 1965) and a short, general research paper by the same author on Max Weber, Calvin, and the English Puritans without a title. Much of Graham's work was based on the study made by André Bieler. Henri Hauser, Les débuts de capitalisme (Paris, 1927) and "L'économie calvinienne," Societé de l' historie du Protestantisme francais, LXXXIV (1935) provide considerable insight into the economic thought of Calvin in general and on the problem of usury in particular. The thoughts of Calvin and the attitudes of the government at Geneva toward usury are brought to light in Paul E. Martin, "Calvin et le prêt à intérêt à Genève," Mélanges d'histoire économique et sociale en hommage au professeur Antony Babel, 2 vols. (Genève, 1963).

A good concise picture of the attitude of the early Church toward usury can be found in Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, 7 vols. (New York, 1907) and in James Hastings, ed. The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 12 vols. (New York, 1908-1927). Views that support the

contention that usury was commonly practiced in European society long before the Reformation are found in James W. Thompson, Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages (New York, 1931) and Roy Pascal, The Social Basis of the German Reformation (London, 1933).

Source material showing the official ideas of the Church toward, and the problem that it had with, usury during the Middle Ages is found in Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, trans. Rev. H. J. Schroeder (St Louise, 1937) and in St Thomas Aquinas, The Summa Theologica, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 21 vols. (London, 1929).

An interesting and revealing approach to the study of official pronouncements of religious bodies on particular religious, economic, and social issues is through reading the records of the councils or synods in Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, 3 vols. (New York, 1877).

CHAPTERS V AND VI

THE SPIRIT OF PURITANISM: RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

and

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS THE BASIS OF THE PURITANS' SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS

Primary Sources:

The major portion of this section of the study is based upon the writings of the English Puritans. The intent was to select writers who lived sometime in the

period from the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558) until the death of Richard Baxter in 1691. Three of the earliest writers to reflect the ideals of the English Puritans are: Roger Hutchinson, The Works of Roger Hutchinson, ed. John Bruce (Cambridge, 1842); John Bradford, The Writings of John Bradford, ed. Aubrey Townsend, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1848) and John Hooper, Early Writings of John Hooper, ed. Samuel Carr (Cambridge, 1843) and John Hooper, Later Writings of Bishop Hooper, ed. Charles Nevinson (Cambridge, 1852).

A penetrating insight into the English Puritan attitude toward the need for social and economic reform is found in Robert Crowley, The Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (London, 1872) and in Thomas Lever, Sermons, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1870). All of the major points of this study could probably have been supported by Richard Greenham, The Workes of the Reverend and the Faithfvll Servant of Iesvs Christ, ed. H. H. (London, 1605) and William Perkins, The Works of That Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, 3 vols. (London, 1616-1618).

The English Puritan character and religion is richly exemplified in Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward, Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries, ed. M. M. Knappen (Gloucester, Mass., reprinted 1966) and in Richard Rogers, A Garden of

Spiritual Flowers (London, 1610). Good evidence for confirming both the religious and social views set forth in this study is available in John Robinson, The Works of John Robinson, ed. Robert Ashton, 3 vols. (London, 1851). The theme that man is to be guided in all of his worldly activities by the authority of the Scriptures is particularly pronounced in William Ames, Conscience With the Power and Cases Thereof (n.p., 1633). Richard Sibbes, The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes, ed. Alexander Grosart, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1862) is the fullest expression of the joys and sweetness of the Christian religion among the writers that I read. A variety of religious, social, and economic questions are dealt with in several works by John Dod, Old Mr. DOD's Sayings, comp. R. T. (Cambridge, 1673) and Old Mr. DOD's Sayings: Or Posies Gathered Out of Mr. Dod's Garden (Boston, 1731). Two other editions of his sayings were checked (1725 and 1768) as well as A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments, John Dod and R. Cleaver (London, 1628). An illuminating survey of the teachings of the English Puritans is available in the following works of William Gouge: The Workes of William Gouge, 2 vols. (London, 1627), The Saints Cordials (London, 1629), A Recovery From Apostacy (London, 1639), A Short Catechisme, Wherein are briefly laid the fundamentall Principals of the Christian Religion (London, 1616) and Of Domesticall Dvties: Eight Treatises (London, 1622).

A comprehensive but one of the dullest approaches to what the English Puritans believed is Thomas Goodwin, The Works of Thomas Goodwin, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861).

Richard Baxter, The Practical Works of the Late Reverend and Pious Mr. Richard Baxter, 4 vols. (London, 1707) provides Weber with only one statement with which to uphold his thesis, and it is taken out of context. Taken as a whole Baxter's writings do not fit into the general pattern of the 'spirit of capitalism." Another English Puritan writer who does considerable damage to Weber's views is Henry Smith, The Works of Henry Smith, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1866). Smith has an excellent chapter on usury. Christian guidelines are provided for the businessman by William Pemberton, The Godly Merchant, or the Great Gaine (London, 1613). In three separate works Richard Bernard upholds the traditional Christian ideals with regard to riches and responsibility toward one's neighbors. These are: The Readyway to Good Works, or a Treatise of Charitie (London, 1635), The Contemplative Pictures With Wholesome Precepts (London, 1610) and A Double Catechisme (Cambridge, 1607). The social and economic abuses of his day are the targets of Anthony Gilby in A Commentary Upon the Prophet Mycha (London, 1551). Strong concern for and opposition to social and economic abuses are particularly evident in the following works:

John Knewstubs, Lectvres Vpon the Twentith Chapter of Exodus, and Certein Other Places of Scripture (London, 1577), Richard Turnbull, An Exposition Vpon the Canonicall Epistle of Saint James (London, 1591), Thomas Lupton, A Dreame of the Diuell and Diues (London, 1589.

The English Puritans' attitude toward usury is the major focus of the following works: Robert Bolton, A Short and Private Discourse between Mr. Bolton and one M. S. concerning Usury (London, 1637), Miles Mosse, The Arraignment and Conviction of Vsvrie (London, 1595) and Roger Tvrner, The Vsvrers Plea Answered: In a Sermon preached at Southampton (London, 1634). Laws on usury can be found in The Statutes of the Realm. Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, 11 vols. (n.p., 1810-1822).

A glimpse of the Anglican view toward the concept of the calling, labor, idleness, wealth, and usury is found in Lancelot Andrews, Patterns of Catechistical Doctrine, and Other Minor Works (Oxford, 1846) and Lancelot Andrews, Ninety-Six Sermons, in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1841-1843).

Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt, eds. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (London, 1954) provides considerable information on a wide range of social, economic, and religious problems.

Secondary Sources:

A classic work on Church history is Thomas Fuller, The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year 1648, 3 vols. (London, 1868). Probably the two most important volumes in the initial stages of this study were William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism: Or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in the Pulpit and Press From Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643 (New York, 1957) and M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1965). A guide for the history of the early Puritan movement is H. C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958). There are a number of so-called standard works on the English Puritan movement--four of these were most helpful in preparing the biographical notes: John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1822)., Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth, 5 vols. (London, 1793), Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, 3 vols. (London, 1840) and Benjamin Brook, The Lives of the Puritans: A Biographical Account of Those Divines Who Distinguished Themselves in the Cause of Religious Liberty, From the Reformation Under Queen Elizabeth to the Act of Uniformity

in 1663, 3 vols. (London, 1813). The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen, 63 vols. (London, 1885) was also most helpful in biographical material. A sympathetic approach to English Puritanism and Richard Baxter is Hugh Martin, Puritanism and Richard Baxter (London, 1954).